Udmurt

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0. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The language described here is literary written Udmurt, for which there are prescriptive rules and a standardized orthography. This variety is based on the central dialect of Udmurt, sharing common features with the northern as well as with the southern dialect.

0.1 Socio-and geolinguistic situation

Udmurt belongs to the Permian branch of the Uralic language family. Its closest linguistic relative is Komi; the two languages are not mutually intelligible. Udmurt is the self-designation (older name: Votyak).

According to the last census (1989), 747.000 people declared themselves to be of Udmurt nationality. Of these approximately 520.000 (= c. 70%) speak Udmurt as their mother tongue. About two thirds (c. 496.500) of the Udmurts live in the Udmurt Republic (Udmurtia; 1.609.000 inhabitants; 42.000 km^2; capital: Izhevsk/Izhkar, 650.000), which forms a part of the Russian Federation and is located between the Vyatka and the Kama Rivers. The Udmurts are thus a minority within their own republic (c. 31%, Russians 59%, Tatar 7%), although in the rural areas they form the majority. One third lives outside the Udmurt Republic, mainly in the neighbouring republics of Bashkiria (c. 24.000) and Tatarstan (c. 25.000) and in the Kirov (c. 22.000) and Perm region (c. 32.000); the remaining 150.000 Udmurts live in scattered settlements in the former Soviet Union, chiefly in cities. While the former groups of Udmurts have preserved their language very well, the mother-tongue speakers in the latter groups are already in the minority and will probably become completely russified.

Usually the Udmurts are bi-, even trilingual. The second language is generally Russian, the third Tatar. Russian is the language of the cities, of the administration and the official life, of the mass media and traffic, while Udmurt is the language of the countryside, the family and agriculture. The younger generation speaks better Russian than the older, the older better Udmurt than the younger. Extensive code-switching to Russian (phrases, semi-sentences, proverbs) can be observed very often and is not always connected with the subject-matter, which may be better expressed in Russian. Not seldom the reason is carelessness, an attitude depending on the general low esteem of the language among its speakers.

In the Udmurt Republic only in a part of the schools (in 360 schools with about 31.100 pupils, that makes about a third of Udmurts of school age) is Udmurt teaching language and school subject, mostly in first classes. Those schools are located exclusively in rural areas. Some subjects are taught only in Russian (e. g. mathematics, history, geography etc.). In addition the

school situation suffers a lack of teachers and teaching materials.The university of Izhevsk offers the possibility to study Udmurt language and literature.

In the mass media Udmurt plays a very subsidiary role. There are only some newspapers (none of them is published daily) and periodicals with a very limited number of copies. Books are seldom published in Udmurt as well. Radio programmes in Udmurt are transmitted on average 2,5 hours per day, TV programmes only half an hour.

Even though Udmurt has gained an official status in the last decade, there is until now no language law which regulates the official use of Udmurt within the Republic due to strong opposition of the majority of their inhabitants.

0.2 Dialects and language contact

Udmurt dialects are usually divided into five dialect areas:

1) The northern dialect is spoken in the northern part of the Udmurt Republic and in the neighbouring Kirov region. Center of this area is the second largest town of Udmurtia, Glazov.

2) A dialect of its own in the North is represented by the language of udmurtized Tatars, the Besermans.

3) The central dialect area is situated in the middle of the republic, to which belongs the region of the capital Izhevsk.

4) The southern dialect is spoken in the southern parts of the republic.

5) Eight subdialects spoken in Bashkiria and Tatarstan form the peripheral dialect.

There are no significant differences between these dialects and they present little or no obstacle to mutual comprehension. The main differences are in the phonological systems (number of vowels and affricates) and in the lexicon, morphology and syntax are nearly identical.

Language contact has been an important factor in the development of the Udmurt lexicon as well as its grammar. Contact languages are Turkic (Chuvash and Tatar) and Slavic (Russian) languages:

a) The oldest layer of loanwords is of Chuvash (or Volga Bulghar) origin, dating back to the period between the ninth/tenth and the thirteenth century (during this time the Udmurt paid tribute to the Chuvash) and containing more than a hundred loanwords.

b) The chronologically following layer is the Tatar, dating back to the thirteenth century (as a consequence of the Mongolian invasion), containing more than four hundred loanwords (in some dialects even more, with the Tatar influence continuing to the present day).

c) Udmurt borrowed the first Russian loanwords already before the fall of Kazan (1552), but contact with Russian increased after this event when the whole Udmurt region came under Russian domination. By 1917, some six to eight hundred Russian loans had been borrowed into Udmurt.

0.3 Research on Udmurt

The first Udmurt specimens were collected by Germans during the eighteenth century "word collecting" period of the Russian Academy. The first data were put down in writing by D. G. Messerschmidt in 1726 (hitherto still unpublished, see Napolskikh 1998). Some words are in Ph. J. v. Strahlenbergs "Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia" (1730), a list of about 300 words is included in G. F. Müllers "Sammlung Russischer Geschichte" (Vol. III, 1758)[1], a list of 280 words in P. S. Pallas "Linguarum totius orbis comparativa" (1787-89). The first text is a little poem in honour of Catharine the Great (1767). The first grammar was published in 1775 ("Sočinenija prinadležaščija k grammatike votskago jazyka"), the first dictionaries were written at the end of the 18th century (Damaskins materials are still unpublished, Krotovs "Udmurtsko-russkij slovar'" was published in 1995).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, merely one short sketch about the "Die wotjakische Declination" by H. C. Gabelentz was published. The second half of the century was the most productive period with regard to collecting texts and word materials: the collections of the Hungarian B. Munkácsi as well as those of the Finn Y. Wichmann are the most important one and their dictionaries - Munkácsi's "A votják nyelv szótára" (1890-96) and Wichmann's "Wotjakischer Wortschatz" (1987, edited by M. Korhonen), text samples and linguistic works remain indispensable to ths day for studying the history and the dialects of Udmurt.

In the twentieth century, the Udmurts themselves took over the research of their language. The most remarkable results are the descriptive grammar of modern (written) Udmurt in three volumes ("Grammatika sovremennogo udmurtskogo jazyka", 1962: Fonetika i morfologija, 1970: Sintaksis prostogo predloženija, 1974: Sintaksis složnogo predloženija) and some dictionaries (T. Borisov's "Udmurt kyll'ukam", 1932, 1991; Udmurtsko-russkij slovar', 1983; Russko-udmurtskij slovar', 1956). Furthermore especially researchers in Russia, Finland and Hungary were/are engaged in the research on Udmurt.

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[1] J. E. Fischer, who is often mentioned as a collector in this context, merely copied the word lists of Müller and used them in his own works (see Winkler 1997).

1. PHONOLOGY

In the literary language Cyrillic letters are used according to the principles of Russian orthography. Five sounds lacking in Russian are indicated with diacritical marks (appendix).

In this book, Udmurt is written with a Latin-based alphabet with diacritics in agreement with Finno-Ugric transcription.

1.1 Vowels

The literary language has 7 vowels:

	Front	Back	
		Unrounded	Rounded
High	*i*	*ɨ*	*u*
Mid	*e*	*ɵ*	*o*
Low		*a*	

The classification of *ɨ*, *ɵ* and *a* is controversial; they are sometimes also classified as central vowels (Alatyrev 1983: 564).

All vowels occur in the first and the non-first syllable, in suffixes *u* is very rare and *ɵ* does not appear at all (with the exception of *ɵvɵl* 'there is no'. Unstressed vowels are never reduced with regard to quality. The most frequent vowel is *ɨ*, followed by *a, e, o, i, u* and *ɵ*.

There is no distinctive vowel quantity. Accordingly sequences like *tɨɨn* 'lake (In.)' are heterosyllabic. However, stressed vowels are articulated somewhat longer than non-stressed (Grammatika I: 22).

Udmurt has no diphthongs, with the following exceptions:

a) the word *tau* 'thanks';

b) in some words, *-ua-* and *-ui-* (the last only in the group of the numeral 'three') occur, which can be interpreted as diphthongs (as the orthography suggests): *u* is not syllabic. Its occurrence is restricted and predictable: only after initial *k* and before *a* (or *i* in the named group) and only in stems (so *ku-as* 'in his skin' [*-as*: IN/3SG] does not belong to these cases). In these cases *u* is pronounced as a bilabial semivowel.

So sequences like *vui* 'come (3SG/PRET)' have a syllable boundary between the two vowels. *j* is classified as a consonant.

In the Finno-Ugric context, the lack (historically: decline) of vowel harmony is just as remarkable as the clear dominance of the back vowels, which otherwise occurs only in the closely related Komi language. Stem-vowel alternations within a group of words belonging etymologically together, which for example occur very often in the related Khanty language, are rare in Udmurt and are restricted to the following cases (almost all pronominal): *o* ~ *ɨ* and *a* ~ *ɨ*, namely *mon* 'I' ~ *mɨn-am* (GEN), *mɨn-eštɨm* (Abl.), *mɨn-ɨm* (DAT), in this way also *ton* 'you'; *so* 'he, she' ~ *sɨ-če* 'such'; *val* ~ *vɨlem* petrified preterite vs participle of the existential verb; and in the area of the verbs *ɨ* ~ *i* ~ 0 (see 2.4).

1.2 Consonants

Udmurt has 26 consonants:

		Labials		Dentals		Palatals	Velars
		bilabial	labiodental	dental	postalveolar		
Stops	voiceless	*p*		*t*		*tʹ*	*k*
	voiced	*b*		*d*		*dʹ*	*g*
Affricates	voiceless				*č*	*čʹ*	
	voiced				*ǯ*	*ǯʹ*	
Fricatives	voiceless			*s*	*š*	*šʹ*	
	voiced		*v*	*z*	*ž*	*žʹ*	
Nasals		*m*		*n*		*ńʹ*	
Laterals				*l*		*lʹ*	
Trills				*r*			
Semivowel						*j*	

c, f, χ occur only in recent Russian loanwords.

Sometimes the palatals are interpreted as palatalized dentals (which is also suggested by the orthography, cf. Russian). This interpretation is contradicted by the articulation of *šʹ* and *žʹ*, which clearly differ from the articulation of a palatalized sibilant (as in Russian); cf. Grammatika I :27ff.

j is sometimes classified as a fricative, probably for systematic reasons. Phonetically it is a semivowel.

The area of the obstruents is characterized by the opposition of voiced and voiceless consonants, which is very rare in the Finno-Ugric languages. The opposition is maintained in the anlaut too. In comparison to the other Finno-Ugric languages the area of fricatives and affricates is well developed.

In initial position *tʹ, dʹ* and *žʹ* do not occur (or very rarely), in genuinely Udmurt words *r* does not either, whereas *ǯ* (< **r*) is found practically only in this position.

The most frequent consonant in Udmurt is *k*, then follow *s, t, n, m, l* and *šʹ*, the affricates and the palatals are the rarest. The proportion between vowels and consonants amounts to 100 : 129.

There is no systematically developed opposition between long and short consonants. Long consonants are found at the morphemic boundary, when a suffix with a certain initial consonant

is joined to the stem with a final consonant of the same kind. In such cases the quantity can be phonemic, cf. *kɨl'ɨnɨ* 'lie' vs *kɨl'l'ɨnɨ* 'remain'.

As in most Finno-Ugric languages, consonant clusters are very rare in initial position - only as a result of syncope (cf. *tros* 'much' < *tɨros*) or in younger loanwords - and restricted in final position (only liquid + C, cf. *murt* 'human being', *parś* 'pig'); in older loanwords the clusters are dissolved by epenthesis (cf. *burɨs* < russ. *brus* 'beam').

1.3 Syllable structure

Simple words have the following structure in Udmurt:

V (rare, cf. *u* 'rupture (med.)'), VC (*ɨm* 'mouth'), CV (*pi* 'boy'), VCV (*olo* 'perhaps'), VCCV (*intɨ* 'place'), CVC (*bur* 'good'), CVCC (*murt* 'human being'), CVCV (*busɨ* 'field'), CVCCV (*šundɨ* 'sun') und CVC(C)VC (*suzer* 'sister'). The monosyllabic simple words are more frequent.

The structure of grammatical elements is mostly monosyllabic (sometimes bisyllabic); besides, there are elements consisting only of a consonant (cf. *uža-ś* 'hardworking' (literally 'working').

The structure of morphemic sequences is not principally different from simple words.

The nucleus of a syllable is always a vowel in Udmurt.

1.4 Stress

The stress is of the quantitative-dynamic type and generally falls on the last syllable. In inflected words it is always the inflexional suffixes that are stressed, never the stem itself (see below). That means, depending on the length of the suffix order different suffixes are stressed: *uknó* 'window', *ukno-ós* 'windows' (PL), *ukno-os-sɨ́* 'their windows' (3PL), *ukno-os-sɨ-lén* 'of their windows' (GEN), *ukno-os-sɨ-len-éz* 'that of their windows' (NOMIN) etc.

A stressed syllable is somewhat longer than an unstressed one. Other suprasegmental components (sound intensity, tone height) separate from fall on the first syllable (Baitchura 1973: 86f.).

Exceptions from the above mentioned rule are the following:

1) Verbal forms of the IMP 2SG/PL: *véra* 'say!', *vérale* (PL) 'say!'; in the periphrastically built forms of the 3SG/PL (cf. 2.4.2.2) the particle preceding the verbal form bears the stress: *méd mɨnoz* 'let him/her go'.

2) Negative verbal forms (cf. 2.4.3): *mon ug tódiśkɨ/ug tódɨ/ęj tódɨ* 'I don't know/won't know/didn't know' (except the sc perfect). In negative forms of the IMP 2SG/PL the stress falls either on the preceding particle or on the first syllable of the verb: *én vera ~ en véra* 'don't say!', in those of the IMP 3SG/PL always on the particle (resp. on its second syllable): *medáz mɨnele* 'don't let them go!'.

3) Intensive reduplicated adjectives: cf. *górd-gord* 'very red'.

4) Prefixed pronouns and adverbs containing *no-, kot'-, olo-,* like *nokin* 'nobody', *kot'kin* 'every' (see 2.3.2.6 and 7).

5) Pronouns and adverbs containing *kud-, og-, so-, ta-* and *ma-,* like *makem* 'how', *sokem, takem* 'so'.

In some derived words there is no strict rule for the position of stress as in such with the prefix *olo-* (*olókin ~ olokín* 'anyone') or with the suffix *-ak* (*čál'ak ~ čalák* 'quick'); cf. Kel'makov/ Häkkinen 1999: 17ff., Tarakanov 1998: 69ff. and Csúcs 1990: 29.

In rare cases stress can be phonemic because of the homonymy of the IND.3SG and the IMP. 2SG: *košké* 'he leaves' vs *kóške* 'leave!'.

In principle the rule to stress the last syllable is valid even for borrowings (like *knigá* < russ. *kníga*), but its domain can be reduced in the case of intensive bilingualism.

1.5 Morphonology

1.5.1 Syncope

A word with the structure (C)VCVC shows syncope of an unstressed *ɨ* (rarely *o* or *e*) in the second syllable preceded and/or followed by a liquid or a nasal (sometimes plosives), when a vowel-initial suffix is added and the word structure would result in a sequence of three (or more) open syllables, cf. *kužɨm* 'strength' + adjective-forming suffix *-o* > *kužmo* 'strong' or *turɨn* 'hay' + verb-forming suffix *-a-* + INF *-nɨ* > *turnanɨ* 'to cut', *gɨbed* 'reat' > *gibdanɨ* 'smoulder'.

1.5.2 Paragogic consonants

In some nouns with a final consonant in the nominative a *k, m* or *t* is inserted before a suffix with an initial vowel: *ńules* 'forest', *ńulesk-ɨn* 'in the forest', but *ńules-mɨ* 'our forest'; *um* 'sleep', *umm-e* 'my sleep', but *um-tek* 'without sleep'; *kɨk* 'two', *kɨkt-eti* 'second', but *kɨk-lɨ* 'to two (DAT)'. Exceptions: *kɨk-e* 'my two', *ńules-e* 'my forest'.

Historically the forms with the paragogic consonant represent the older state (with the exception of some analogical forms): After the decline of the final vowel the consonant cluster in the medial position came to be in the final position and the last part of the cluster declined (for example in the nominative).

1.5.3 Assimilations

The following regressive phenomena are not indicated by the orthography.

1) Voice: In a sequence of the two consonants (for example at the morpheme boundary) the second adjusts the first, cf. *lị̈d* 'number', *lị̈d-tek* [*lị̈ttek*] 'without number'; *čurʒ̈t* 'hard', *čurʒ̈t-ges* [*čurʒ̈dges*] 'harder'.

2) Manner of articulation: The dental stops *t* and *d* are completely assimilated by a following palatal affricate, cf. *lị̈d* 'number', *lị̈d-ǯ̈ïnï̈* [*lị̈ǯ̈ǯ̈ïnï̈*] 'to calculate'.

3) Place of articulation: Dentals are assimilated by palatals, cf. *bun* 'bast', *bun-ǯ̈ïnï̈* [*buńǯ̈ïnï̈*] 'become frayed'.

The hiatus-blocker and the progressive assimilations mentioned in the literature occur only in certain categories and with certain suffixes and they are therefore interpreted as suffix variants within the morphology.

2. MORPHOLOGY and MORPHOSYNTAX

2.1 Preliminary remarks

The morphological structure of the Udmurt language is strongly agglutinative. Words can easily be divided into a linear sequence of distinct morphemes, the boundaries are usually clear-cut; quantitative and qualitative assimilations appear rarely (cf. 1.5.3).

The overwhelming majority of affixes are suffixes; there are some prefixes, which have exclusively word-forming, never transmutational function (but, as a rule, attract stress).

The suffixes mostly have a single shape and a single function, cf. *vera-šḳï̈-li-šḳo-dï̈* (REFL-FREQ-PRS-2PL) 'you talk often to each other' or *l'uk-et-jos-ïz-tek* (DER-PL-3SG-CAR) 'without its parts'. There are some exceptions:

a) Suffix variants, for example (1SG) *eš-e* 'my friend', *ḳẹt-ï̈* 'my stomach', *jïrši-je* 'my hair' or (2PL) *val-dï̈* 'your horse', *gurt-tï̈* 'your village'.

b) Homonymy of suffixes, for example *gurt-ez* (a) 'village (ACC.)' und (b) 'his/her village (NOM/3SG)'; *vera-lo* (a) 'they say (PRS/3PL)' and (b) 'I will say (FUT/1SG)' or *-jos* functioning as a plural marker or a collective suffix.

c) Portmanteau-suffixes, i. e. a suffix has more than one function at the same time: *mïn-o* (FUT/1SG) 'I shall go', *mïn-i* (PRET/1SG) 'I went' or particularly the PX/3SG.

d) Zero morphemes: A category is expressed by the form of the word itself (i. e. without a separate suffix), for example the nominative in general, the accusative of the indefinite object, the dative of the personal pronouns (1SG *mïnïm* 'to me' can only historically be analysed into the stem *mïn-* and a PX/1SG) or the preterite of the stems ending in *a*.

The parts of speech usually have their own suffixes. There are however some suffixes occurring in more than one part of speech, for example:

1) The PX/3SG *-(j)ez* is a nominalizer too. Almost every form of a word can be transformed into a noun with the help of this suffix (cf. Alatyrev 1970), for example

(1) *ton* *ponna-jez*
you because of/POSTP-/NOMIN
'who/which is because of you'

(2) *vuza-no-jez*
sell-PART-NOMIN
'which is to be sold'

2) The plural marker *-(j)os* occurs outside the area of the nouns, namely with postpositions and particles as, for example, *kaď* 'like':

(3) *ton-en* *seren-jos*
you-INSTR because of/POSTP-PL
'those because of you'

(4) *vižtem* *kaď-jos* *ę-z* *vala-le* *so-je*
stupid like-PL NV/PRET-3PL verstehen-NF/PRET DEM-ACC
'Such stupids didn't understand it'

3) The suffix of the comparative is also found in connection with substantives and verbs, partly with different function (cf. 2.3.4.1):

(5) *al'i mon no* *viši-ško-ges*
now I too be ill-PRS/1SG-COMP
'Now I too am a little bit ill'

(6) *brat-ed-lį-ges-ez* *šekįt* *val*
Brother-2SG-DAT-COMP-NOMIN heavy COP/PRET
'That, which belonged more/exactly to your brother, was heavy'

Lexemes belonging to the inflexional parts of speech can be divided into vowel and consonant stems, which is, with regard to the inflexion, of no importance. The stems are mostly invariable (but cf. 1.5.1 and 1.5.2), the suffixes are agglutinated without changing the stem. There are only some nouns which have two stems (cf. 1.5.2). In Russian loanwords ending in *-ija* or *-ije* (for example NOM/SG *konferencija, sobranije* 'meeting') inflexional suffixes are agglutinated to the stem without *-ja/-je,* as for example *konferenci-įn* 'in the conference'. Exceptions are personal nouns like *Estonija* or *Marija*: *Estonija-įn* 'in Estonia'.

Apart from word stems and affixes there are some clitics like *-a* (marker of yes/no-questions). The order of stem and affixes is the following: (prefix) - stem - derivational suffix(es) - inflexional suffix(es) - clitic. Suffixes of the same type (case, number, possession) can occur in a morpheme sequence even twice, namely on the one hand in certain constructions - either pleonastically (for example *til-e-d-lį* 'you (PL; DAT)' with *e* and *lį* marking the dative) or of a different kind (for example *ul-lań-e* 'downwards', with *lań* marking the approximative and *e* the illative) - or on the other hand depending on contextual conditions (cf. 2.4.4.4 und 2.3.5).

On the whole, Udmurt is highly synthetic, the existence of analytical expressions is very limited.

2.2 Parts of speech

Udmurt nouns and verbs usually differ from each other (but cf. 2.1), as do the corresponding derivational and inflexional (except possessive suffixes and personal suffixes, which are almost identical) suffixes. Cases like *mertćem* 'splinter; it went into [PERF]; has gone into [PART]' are very sporadic.

Within the area of the nouns the boundary is not as clear. Simple words can be substantives, adjectives and adverbs and only the concrete syntactical behaviour or the context clarifies the difference: *pęś* 'hot; heat; hotly'. Because Udmurt has only one declension, this can be the case with inflected forms too.

The boundary between the nominal parts of speech and the so-called particles is unclear as well. Some adverbs and postpositions can be inflected for case and number, partly for possession. Subgroups within this third group can be classified only by syntactical or semantic criteria and the border is not always exact, cf. *vįlįn* 'at the top (adverb); on (postposition)' or *bere* 'after (postposition); when (conjunction)'.

2.3 Nominal morphology

2.3.1 Nouns

Udmurt nouns distinguish the following categories: Number, case, possession and definiteness. There are no grammatical categories of gender, class or animacy. Natural gender is expressed lexically (*ataj* 'father' - *anaj* 'mother', *kart* 'man' - *kįšno* 'woman', *atas* 'cock' - *kureg* 'chicken').

The order of the categories is the following: (stem) - number - case - possession (or possession - case). With regard to the two last-mentioned categories the order depends on the case.

The suffixes are agglutinated to the NOM SG, which is the lemma in the dictionaries.

Nouns function as complements, adjuncts, possessive and non-possessive modifiers and finite predicates.

2.3.1.1 Number

Udmurt has two numbers, singular and plural. The singular has no own marker, that of the plural is ***jos*** ***~ os***, the first after consonants, the second after vowels, *gurt-jos* 'villages', *gureź-jos* 'hills', *ųj-jos* 'nights' and *korka-os* 'houses', *kiźil'i-os* 'stars'.[2]

The plural often remains unexpressed, if it is deducible from the context, as

(7) *pi-jez* *vań*
son-3SG EX/PRS
'She has a son/sons'

After numerals and quantifiers the singular is used as well, *vit' ad'ami* 'five men', *tros pol* 'many times'; sometimes the plural occurs in such cases, which might be a young phenomenon (perhaps due to Russian influence).

There are no *pluralia tantum* in Udmurt, but *singularia tantum* like *vęj* 'butter', *ӟuždala* 'height' or expressions for paired things like *šin* 'eye, eyes', *kuas* 'ski, skies'; if the single thing has to be

[2] In the dialects *-jos* is used even after a vowel.

expressed, *pal* 'half' must be used: *pal šin* 'one eye' (lit. 'halfeye'). The use of the plural in such cases (*bamjos* 'cheeks') is caused by Russian influence.

The suffix of the plural functions as collective suffix, too (in this case possibly after case suffixes, cf. 2.3.5), as *agaj-jos* 'the uncle and his family'; cf. 2.1 too.

2.3.1.2 Case

Like most of the other Finno-Ugric languages, Udmurt possesses a great number of cases, among them many local cases: 7 of the 15 cases are local cases, of which, however, only three are connected to a set (in Finnish 2, in Hungarian 3 sets): Inessive (where?), elative (from where?) and illative (where to?); the other local cases - approximative (in which direction?), transitive (along where?), terminative (to which point?) and egressive (from which point?) - are used to express specific local or directional relations. The remaining 8 cases are nominative, genitive, accusative, dative as well as ablative, caritive, instrumental and the so called adverbial. Nouns denoting animate referents are inflected only for the grammatical cases. Because the local cases partly have abstract functions, too, and some nouns denote a duty or a job, local cases also occur agglutinated to those nouns, cf. *dįšetiš-įn užani* 'to work as a teacher'. Specific local or directional relations are otherwise expressed by a postpositional structure, as for example *anaje puškįn* (~ *šulmaz* ~ *kętaz*) 'in my mother' (lit. 'my mother in the inside ~ in the heart ~ in the stomach').

Morphologically the suffixes are either simple (that is not compounded; they are historically primary) or compounded (historically secondary). To the latter group belong all the suffixes formed with the coaffixe *l* (genitive, ablative, dative, approximative) as well as the egressive and the adverbial.

Case suffixes[3]

Distribution		-V-	*korka*	*Možga*	*ńules(k-)*	*ki*	-PL-	-PX-
Case								
Nominative	0							
Accusative	0, *-ez*	*-jez*					*0,-įz ~ -tį*	*-e/-es*
Genitive	*-len*							
Ablative	*-leš*							
Dative	*-lį*							
Caritive	*-tek*							
Adverbial	*-ja*							
Instrumental	*-en*	*-jen*				*-įn*	*-įn*	*-enį-*

[3] The variants of the pronouns remain unconsidered.

Approximative	*-lań*						
Inessive	*-įn*		*-n*	*-la-n*			
Illative	*-e*	*-je*	0	*-la*	*-į*	*-į*	
Elative	*-įš*		*-š*	*-la-š*			*-įštį-*
Egressive	*-įšen*		*-šen*	*-la-šen*			*-įšenį-*
Transitive	*-eti*	*-jeti*	*-ti*		*-ti*	*-ti*	
Terminative	*-ož*						*-ožа-*

The distribution of the variants:

1) See below for the difference between the accusative with and without suffix.

2) The suffixes with initial *j* (accusative, instrumental, illative and transitive) occur - in contrast to the suffix of the plural - after a vowel resp. vowel stem (historically: hiatus blocker): *busį-je* 'into the field'. Exceptions are vowel stems with *ę* and *u* as well as monosyllabic words with a final *-į*: *tį-e* 'into the lake', *ję-e* 'into the ice', *gu-e* 'into the pit'.

3) The suffixes of the local cases without a vowel are used, when nouns denoting a locality end in *-a*, cf. *korka-n* 'in the house', *korka* 'into the house', *korka-ś* 'out of the house'.

4) The coaffixe *-la* with the local case suffixes is used for local names ending in *-ja, -ga, -ka, -ra* and *-la* (historically tribal names).

5) The illative ending in *-į* appears in a few nouns like *ńules* 'forest', *ńuleskį* 'into the forest'.

6) The use of the instrumentals in *-įn* is restricted to a limited number of nouns (especially designations for parts of the body and kinship terms) like *ki-įn* 'with the hand(s)'.

7) The illative in *-į* and the instrumental in *-įn* (identical with the inessive) are used after the plural marker *-os/-jos*. The variants of the plural accusative are in free variation in the literary standard (*-įz* is characteristic of the southern, *-tį* of the northern dialect). The suffix of the transitive appears without the initial vowel after the plural marker (but cf. before the pluralic suffixes of possession).

8) After PX denoting a single possessor the suffix of the accusative is *-e* (*pįd-d-e* 'your leg'), after such denoting more than one possessor *-es* (*gurt-m-es* 'our village').

There are several more variants for the pronouns (cf. 2.3.2).

Declension paradigms

Singular

	Consonant stem	Vowel stem
Nominative	*kar* 'town'	*busi* 'field'
Accusative	*kar; karez*	*busi; busijez*
Genitive	*karlen*	*busilen*
Ablative	*karleš*	*busileš*
Dative	*karli*	*busili*
Caritive	*kartek*	*busitek*
Adverbial	*karja*	*busija*
Instrumental	*karen*	*busijen*
Approximative	*karlań*	*busilań*
Inessive	*karin*	*busiin*
Illative	*kare*	*busije*
Elative	*kariš*	*busiiš*
Egressive	*karišen*	*busiišen*
Transitive	*kareti*	*busijeti*
Terminative	*karož*	*busiož*

Plural

Nominative	*karjos*	*busios*
Accusative	*karjos; karjosiz, karjosti*	*busios; busiosiz, busiosti*
Genitive	*karjoslen*	*busioslen*
Ablative	*karjosleš*	*busiosleš*
Dative	*karjosli*	*busiosli*
Caritive	*karjostek*	*busiostek*
Adverbial	*karjosja*	*busiosja*
Instrumental	*karjosin*	*busiosin*
Approximative	*karjoslań*	*busioslań*
Inessive	*karjosin*	*busiosin*
Illative	*karjosi*	*busiosi*
Elative	*karjosiš*	*busiosiš*
Egressive	*karjosišen*	*busiosišen*
Transitive	*karjosti*	*busiosti*
Terminative	*karjosož*	*busiosož*

Case functions:

1. Nominative: 0

1.1 The nominative is the case of the subject:

(8) *kišnomurt* *puk-e* *skamja* *vilin*
woman(-NOM) sit-PRS/3SG bench(-NOM) POSTP
'The woman is sitting on the bench'

(9) *vu* *evel*
water(-NOM) NEX
'There is no water'

1.2 The nominal predicate appears in the nominative:

(10) *so* *dišetiš*
he/she teacher(-NOM)
'He/she is a teacher'

1.3 Nouns in the nominative case function as possessive and non-possessive modifiers (see below - genitive - too):

(11) *kalik* *kuara*
voice(-NOM) people(-NOM)
'the voice of the people'

(12) *korka* *es*
house(-NOM) door(-NOM)
'the door of the house, front door'

(13) *vu* *vedra*
water(-NOM) bucket(-NOM)
'bucket'

(14) *zarńi* *zundes*
gold(-NOM) ring(-NOM)
'gold ring, ring of gold'

1.4 The overwhelming majority of the postpositions governs an object in the nominative; cf. (1) and:

(15) *mi* *dor-in*
we(-NOM) side-IN
'near us, at our home'

1.5 The nominative is used in addressforms. There is no vocative.

2. Accusative: 0, *-ez, -jez, -i̯z ~ -ti̯, -e/-es*

2.1 The accusative is the case of the direct object of transitive verbs. The accusative without a suffix is used, if the object is indefinite, whereas the other the suffixes *-ez, -jez, -i̯z ~ -ti̯* appear, if the object is definite. According to the common definition the following constituents are definite: personal names, personal pronouns, nouns with a PX, all constituents nominalized by the suffix identical with PX 3SG and nouns with appropriate attributes (demonstrative pronouns, adjectives, numerals, marked with DEF); the context, too, can determine the definiteness of a constituent. In principle this definition is valid for pluralic direct objects too, but definiteness is not as clear-cut as for singular constituents. As a rule the unmarked accusative object takes the position to the right of the verb. Some examples:

(16) *mon* *ḱniga* *li̯dž̆-i*
I book(-ACC) read-PRET/1SG
'I read a book'

(17) *mon* *(ta)* *ḱniga-jez* *li̯dž̆-i*
DEM book-ACC read-PRET/1SG
'I have read this book' or 'the book (about which we just talked)'

(18) *Leńin* *jegit-jos-li̯* *sajki̯t* *šures* *uš̆t-i-z* *vi̯l'* *ulon-e*
PN young-PL-DAT clear way(-ACC) open-PRET-3SG new life-ILL
'Lenin opened a bright way into a new life for the youth'

(19) *jua-š̆-ez-li̯* *otvet* *šot-i-z*
ask-PART-NOMIN-DAT answer(-ACC) give-PRET-3SG
'He gave an answer to someone who asked'

(20) *val-m-es* *ńulesk-i̯* *leš̆-i-mi̯*
horse-1PL-ACC forest-ILL leave-PRET-1PL
'We have sent our horse into the forest'

However, there are cases in which definiteness in the narrow sense does not explain the use of the marked accusative. Definiteness seems to be connected with other semantic categories like resultativity, totality or animacy (Кондратьева 2000):

(21) *mon* *ǯuk/ǯuk-ez* *š̆i-i*
I porridge(-ACC)/-ACC eat-PRET/1SG
'I have eaten (the) porridge'

(22) *ǯi̯taže* *mon* *dori̯š* *už/už-ez* *lešti̯-sa* *puk-i*
in the evening I house work(-ACC)/-ACC do-GER sit-PRET/1SG
'In the evening I sat and did some/the whole house work'

(23) *mon* *uramiš̆* *l'ek* *puni̯-jez/ćeber korka* *adž̆-i*
I street-EL malicious dog-ACC/nice house(-ACC) see-PRET/1SG
'I saw a malicious dog/a nice house on/in the street'

In other words, the marked accusative is used if the object itself is focused, whereas the unmarked is employed if the action itself bears the logical accent.

2.2 Adjuncts of time, distance etc. appear in ther accusative too; in such cases the verb need not be transitive:

(24) *mon* *ta* *kar-i̯n* *bi̯des* *arńa* *ul-i*
I DEM town-IN whole year(-ACC) live-PRET/1SG
'I lived in this town for a whole year'

3. Genitive: *-len*

3.1 The genitive serves primarily as the case of adnominal modifiers expressing possession in a wider sense. In this case the governing constituent bears a corresponding PX:

(25) *ta* *so-len* *pi-jez*
DEM he/she-GEN son-3SG
'This is his/her son'

(26) *so-len* *pi-jen-i̯z*
his/her-GEN son-INSTR-3SG
'with his/her son'.

As mentioned above (see nominative) even the mere nominative serves as a possessive modifier. The difference between the possessive modifier in the NOM and in the GEN is that by the help of the former a general relation is expressed whereas with the latter a concrete object is meant:

(27) *ni̯l* *derem* vs (27') *ni̯l-len* *derem-ez*
girl dress girl-GEN dress-3SG
'girl's dress' 'a (concrete) dress of a (concrete) girl'

If in the so-called habeo-construction - like most Finno-Ugric languages Udmurt has no verb with the meaning 'to have' - the possessor is explicitly expressed, this adnominal constituent also appears in the genitive:

(28) *kin-len* *už-ez* *e̯ve̯l?*
who-GEN work-3SG NEX
'Who has no work?'

In certain constructions the agent usually appears only in the form of PX agglutinated to nominal verb forms. If the possessor is explicitly expressed (for contrastive reasons), this constituent is used in the genitive, too:

(29) *mi̯nam ši-jem-e* *pot-e*
I-GEN eat-PART-1SG leave-PRS/3SG
'I want to eat'

3.2 In possessive relations the nominal predicate occurs in the genitive as well. In this case the governing noun bears no PX:

(30) *ta* *tir* *Oleksan-len*
DEM axe(-NOM) PN-GEN
'This axe is Oleksan's, belongs to Oleksan'

4. Ablative: *-leś*

4.1 The ablative has the same function as the genitive (s. 3.1), if the governing constituent functions as a direct object in the sentence:

(31) *so* *kolchoz-leś* *busi̯-z-e* *vožmat-i-z*
he/she kolkhos-ABL field-3SG-ACC show-PRET-3SG
'He/she showed the field of the kolkhos'

So the use of these two cases as adnominal modifiers is complementarily distributed, cf.

(32) *so* *kolchoz-len* *busi̯-ja-z* *mi̯n-i*
he/she kolkhos-GEN field-ILL-3SG go-PRET/1SG
'He/she went on the field of the kolchos'

4.2 Some verbs govern an ablative complement like *ki̯škani̯* 'to be afraid of', *mɛ̨zmi̯ni̯* 'to pine', *vati̯ni̯* 'to hide from'.

4.3 Adjuncts expressing the origin, source, cause or the material appear in the ablative:

(33) *mon* *so-leś* *gožtet* *bašt-i*
I he/she-ABL letter(-ACC) get-PRET/1SG
'I got a letter from him'

(34) *šuni̯t-leś* *li̯mi̯* *šuna*
heat-ABL snow(-NOM) melt(-PRS/3SG)
'The snow is melting from the heat'

Besides, verbs of asking (*juani̯* 'to ask' or *kuri̯ni̯* 'to beg') demand ablative complements, like in many Finno-Ugric languages.

4.4 The ablative is the case of nominal predicates denoting the material:

(35) *ta* *pukon* *pu-leś*
DEM chair wood-ABL
'This chair (is made) of wood'

4.5 In comparative structures the standard of comparison is expressed by an ablative constituent while the adjective remains unmarked or bears the comparative suffix (not obligatory).

(36) *litr-leś* *ɛ̨ži̯t(-ges)*
liter-ABL little(-COMP)
'less than one liter'

4.6. There is one postposition governing an ablative object: *ažlo* 'before (temporal)', z. B. *ta-leś ažlo* 'before' (lit. 'before this').

5. Dative: *-li̯*

5.1 The dative functions as a complement case, as the case of the indirect object usually expressing the aim of the action:

(37) *so* *gožtet* *eš-ez-li̯* *i̯st-i-z*
he/she letter(-ACC) friend-3SG-DAT send-PRET-3SG
'He/she sent a letter to his/her friend'

There are some verbs with a dative complement expressing something else:

(38) *so* *sured* *kel'š-e* *mi̯ni̯m*
DEM picture(-NOM) please-PRS/3SG ich-DAT
'I like this picture'

To these verbs belong for example: *šumpoti̯ni̯* 'to be glad', *pɛ̨rmi̯ni̯/pɛ̨rmi̯ti̯ni̯* 'to change into', *di̯ši̯ni̯* 'to get used to', *aki̯lti̯ni̯* 'to bother', *pajmi̯ni̯* 'to be surprised at', *šinmaškini̯* 'to fall in love' etc.

5.2 Dative adjuncts have two functions, final or temporal. In the former cases the adjunct expresses the aim, in the latter the temporal extension of the action.

(39) *ńań-li̯* *magaźin-e* *mi̯ni̯-ni̯*
bread-DAT shop-ILL go-INF
'to go shopping for bread'

(40) *už-e* *odig* *ǯi̯t-li̯* *ti̯rm-o-z* *na*
work-1SG one evening-DAT to be enough-FUT-3SG still
'My work is still enough for one evening'

5.3 In some constructions with necessive or permissive meaning the agent appears as a dative constituent (cf. 2.4.2.2.3).

5.4 In predicative structures expressing the age of something, this constituent appears in the dative:

(41) *kɛ̨ńa* *ares* *ti̯ni̯d?*
how much year you-DAT
'how old are you?'

5.5 Finally there are some postpositions demanding the dative: *mati̯n* 'near', *ki̯d'oki̯n* 'away from', *pumit* 'against', *lu̯isa* 'because of' and *bi̯de* 'every' (z. B. *ǯi̯t-li̯ bi̯de* 'every evening').

6. Caritive: *-tek*

6.1 Caritive adjuncts express the meaning that the action goes without a person or thing:

(42) *so* *mumi̯-tek* *bubi̯-tek* *bud-i-z*
he/she mother-CAR father-CAR grow up-PRET-3SG
'He/she grew up without mother and father'

6.2 Caritive constituents can function adnominally too:

(43) *pinal-jos-tek* *ulon* *tuž* *mẹzmi̯t*
child-PL-CAR life(-NOM) very sad
'Life without children is very sad'

7. Adverbial: *-ja*

7.1 Adjuncts expressing according to which something is done appear in the adverbial:

(44) *mi plan-mi̯-ja* *čukaźe* *tati̯ś* *košk-o-mi̯*
we plan-1PL-ADVL tomorrow from here leave-FUT-1PL
'According to our plan we will leave from here tomorrow'

(45) *bi̯gat-em-e-ja*
be able-PART-1SG-ADVL
'according to my ability'

7.2 Adnominal:

(46) *Udmurt* *ki̯l-ja* *di̯šetiś*
Udmurt language-ADVL teacher
'teacher of Udmurt language'

(47) *Gumanitarnoj* *todos-jos-ja* *fakul'tet-jos*
arts science-PL-ADVL faculty-PL
'faculties of the arts'

8. Instrumental: *-en, -jen, -i̯n*

8.1 Instrumental adjuncts marks the instrument of an action. It also marks accompaniment and thus it has comitative meaning too: *tir-en/Pedor-en užani* 'to work with the axe/with Fedor', *pojezd-en mi̯ni̯ni̯* 'to go by train', *puri̯ś kost'um-en* 'in a grey suit', *udmurt ki̯l-en* 'in Udmurt' etc.

8.2 Some verbs have an instrumental complement as for example *todmatski̯ni̯* 'to get to know', *šudi̯ni̯* 'to play', *l'ukiśki̯ni̯* 'to separate, to leave', *ešjaśki̯ni̯* 'to become friends', etc.

8.3 Subjects are coordinated by the use of the instrumental:

(48) *oti̯n* *ki̯šno-jen* *kart-en* *kutsaśk-o*
there man-INSTR woman-INSTR thresh-PRES/3PL
'there the man and the woman are threshing'

8.4 Adnominal:

(49) *očki-jen* *piosmurt* *pot-i-z* *korka-ś*
glasses-INSTR man leave-PRET-3SG house-EL
'The man with the glasses came out of the house'

8.5 Postpositions: *seren, ji̯rin, valće* 'because of', *čoš* 'together with', *arti̯n* 'beside'.

9. Approximative: *-lań*

Approximative adjuncts express the (local or temporal) direction of an action:

(50) *so* *šur-lań* *bi̯ź-i-z*
He/she river-APPR run-PRET-3SG
'He/she ran in the direction of the river'

(51) *kuaź* *siźi̯l-lań* *kariśk-e*
'weather(-NOM) autumn-APPR get-PRS/3SG
'It's getting autumn'

10. Inessive: *-i̯n, -n, -la-n*

Constituents appearing in the inessive (mostly adjuncts) have three functions:

a) expressing the location: *gurt-i̯n* 'in the village', *busi̯-i̯n* 'in the field', *korka-n* 'in the house', *Možga-lan* 'in Možga' etc.

b) expressing the time (cf. illative):

(52) *viť* *čas-i̯n* *Ondi* *bert-i-z* *gurt-e*
five o'clock-IN PN come back-PRET-3SG home-ILL
'At five o'clock Ondi came back home'

(53) *ki̯ldi̯t-emi̯n* *so* *1930* *ar-i̯n*
found-PART he/she year-IN
'It was founded in the year 1930'

c) expressing the occupation:

(54) *di̯šetiś-i̯n* *uža-śko*
teacher-IN work-PRS/1SG
'I'm working as a teacher'

11. Illative: *-e, -je,* 0, *-la, -i̯*

The functions of the illative are *mutatis mutandis* similar to those of the inessive:

a) marking the destination of a motion:

(55) *korka* *pi̯r-i-z*
house-ILL (zero-suffix) go in-PRET-3SG
'He/she went into the house'

(56) *mi šur-e pi̯r-i-mi̯*
we river-ILL go in-PRET-1PL
'We went into the river'

b) marking the time:

(57) *vit' ć̆as-e Ondi bert-i-z gurt-e*
five o'clock-ILL PN come back-PRET-3SG home-ILL
'At five o'clock Ondi came back home'

Obviously there is no difference between the use of the inessive and the illative. The use of the inessive is probably caused by Russian influence.

c) marking the occupation someone wishes to take up:

(58) *di̯šetiš-e di̯šetsk-i*
teacher-ILL study-PRET/1SG
'I became a teacher'

12. Elative: *-i̯ś, -ś, -la-ś, -i̯śti̯-*

12.1 Elative adjuncts express the starting point of a motion or action (cf. also egressive, 13):

(59) *anaj gurt-i̯ś pot-i-z*
mother(-NOM) village-EL leave-PRET-3SG
'Mother came out of the village'

(60) *gazet-i̯ś tros vi̯l' ivor-jos todi̯-ni̯ lu-e*
newspaper-EL a lot new news-PL hear-INF can-PRS/3SG
'In the newspapers one can read a lot of news'

Cf. too: *me̯l'-i̯ś ć̆eć̆i̯* 'nectar honey'.

12.2 Some verbs govern an elative complement, as for example 'to find' oder 'to finish':

(61) *vań-ze ti šeď't-o-di̯ ta kńiga-i̯ś*
all-ACC you find-FUT-2PL DEM book-EL
'You will find all in this book'

(62) *mon uža-m-i̯ś dugd-i*
I work-PART-EL finish-PRET/1SG
'I finished my work'

12.3 Examples of adnominal elative constituents:

(63) *Ižkar-i̯ś universitet*
PN-EL university(-NOM)
'University of Iževsk'

(64) *todmo-os-i̯śti̯-mi̯ koť'kin*
friend-PL-EL-1PL every(-NOM)
'every one of my friends'

13. Egressive: *-i̯šen, -šen, -la-šen*

Egressive adjuncts have two meanings:

a) local: starting point of an action:

(65) *Ižkar-i̯šen Moskva-ož̆ pojezd-en mi̯n-i*
PN-EGR PN-TER train-INSTR go-PRET/1SG
'I went by train from Iževsk to Moscow'

(66) *avtobus ot-i̯šen e̯-z pot-i̯ ińi*
bus(-NOM) there-EGR NV/PRET-3SG leave-NF more
'There was no bus going from there'

An egressive adjunct expresses a place, across which the motion is continued:

(67) *mi so-in Moskva-i̯šen pumišk-i-mi̯*
we he/she-INSTR PN-EGR to meet-PRET-1PL
'We met him/her in Moscow (on our trip to X)'

b) temporal: beginning of a period of time:

(68) *1930 ar-i̯šen Ižkar-i̯n universitet vań*
year-EGR PN-IN university(-NOM) EX/PRS
'Since 1930 there has been a university in Iževsk'

(69) *siž̆i̯l-i̯šen tol-ož̆*
autumn-EGR winter-TER
'from autumn to winter'

14. Transitive: *-eti, -jeti, -ti*

Transitive constituents express the way of an action: *šur-eti* 'along the river', *ukno-jeti* 'through the window' and is used in cases like the following:

(70) *anaj ni̯l-ze ki-ti-z vož̆-i-z*
mother(-NOM) daughter-ACC hand-TR-3SG take-PRET-3SG
'The mother took her daughter by the hand'

15. Terminative: *-ož̆*

The terminative is the counterpart of the egressive:

a) local: aim or destination of an action:

(71) *mi šur-ož̆ bi̯ž̆-i-mi̯*
We river-TER run-PRET-1PL
'We ran to the river' (cf. 50 and 56)

(72) *Ižkar-oź samoľot-en lobį-nį lu-e*
PN-TER plane-INSTR fly-INF can-PRS/3SG
'It's possible to fly by plane to Iževsk'

b) temporal: end of a period of time, cf. (69) and *čukna-oź* 'until/by the morning').

2.3.1.3 Possession

The person and number of possessors are inflexionally realized through the use of possessive affixes. These two categories form a unit and they are not separable from each other. The possessive suffixes are mostly identical with the verbal personal suffixes.

Possessive suffixes

Distribution	**-V-**	**vcl.C**	***kęt***	**-PL-**		**Obl. Cases**	
Person/Number					ACC	IN	INSTR
1. Singular	**-e**	**-je**		**-į**	**-į**	**-m-**	**-(j)am**	**-įm**
2. Singular	**-ed**	**-jed**		**-įd**	**-įd**	**-d/t-**	**-(j)ad**	**-įd**
3. Singular	**-ez**	**-jez**		**-įz**	**-įz**	**-z/s-**	**-(j)az**	**-įz**
1. Plural	**-mį**					**-m-**	**-(j)amį**	**-įmį**
2. Plural	**-dį**		**-tį**			**-d/t-**	**-(j)adį**	**-įdį**
3. Plural	**-zį**		**-sį**			**-z/s-**	**-(j)azį**	**-įzį**

Distribution of the variants:

1) The PX with *j* in the SG are used with vowel stems, cf. *busį-je* 'my field', except again (cf. the case suffixes) *ę-*, *u-* and monosyllabic *į*-stems.

2) The PX with voiceless obstruents in the PL appear after voiceless consonants: *eš-tį* 'your friend', *eš-jos-tį* 'your friends'.

3) The PX with *-į-* (instead of *-e-*) appear:

a) with a group of words, mostly expressions for parts of the body, for inner and outer characteristics and for time units and kinship terms, in the nominative and some other cases (cf. 6), for example *kęt-į* 'my stomach', *vįn-įd* 'your sister';

b) after the plural marker, *eš-jos-įz* 'his/her friends'.

4) The 1SG has its own (historically primary) suffix *-m* in some oblique cases. In the accusative this *m* follows directly after the stem resp. the plural marker: *eš-m-e* 'my friend (ACC)', *eš-jos-m-e* 'my friends (ACC)'.

In all the other persons the consonant alone is used (voiceless obstruent after voiceless consonant) followed by the accusative suffix which differs in the SG from the PL: *eš-t-e* 'your friend (ACC)' vs *eš-t-es* 'your (PL) friend (ACC)'.

5) Inessive and illative with PX have merged. Their vowel differs from the one in the other cases (*-a-* vs *-e-*, *-į-*): *gurt-a-z* 'into his village, in his village', *busį-ja-mį* 'onto our field, on our field'.

6) If PX follows CX (see below), the vowel is *į*, in the instrumental, elative, transitive and the egressive, as for example *eś-en-įm* 'with my friend'.

The order of CX and PX is not always the same in Udmurt (different from Finnish or Hungarian), depending on the age of development of the cases and on secondary anlogical tendencies. The distribution of the two orders is the following:

1. CX - PX: Instrumental, inessive, illative, elative, transitive, egressive;
2. PX - CX: Accusative, genitive, ablative, dative, caritive, adverbial, approximative (therefore all cases formed with the coaffixe *-l-*);
3. PX - CX or CX - PX: Both are possible in the terminative. In the case of CX - PX the PX variants typical for the inessive resp. illative are used.

As already mentioned the function of the PX is the indication of the possessor. Besides PX 3SG and to a small extent the 2SG also have other functions (sometimes connected with occurrence of other variants):

1) The PX/3SG serves for marking definiteness (primarily in the area of the object and the attribute) and as a nominalizer (cf. 2.3.5). These three areas of using this PX resp. the identical suffix are different from each other.

2) Sometimes PX 2SG, too, is used for expressing definiteness of the subject (cf. Kel'makov 2000: 24).

Case suffixes + possessive suffixes[4]

Possession in the singular

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Nominative	*-e/-į*	*-ed/įd*	*-ez/įz*	*-mį*	*-dį*	*-zį*
Accusative	*-m-e*	*-d-e*	*-z-e*	*-m-es*	*-d-es*	*-z-es*
Genitive	*-e-len*	*-ed-len*	*-ez-len*	*-mį-len*	*-dį-len*	*-zį-len*
Ablative	*-e-leś*	*-ed-leś*	*-ez-leś*	*-mį-leś*	*-dį-leś*	*-zį-leś*
Dative	*-e-lį*	*-ed-lį*	*-ez-lį*	*-mį-lį*	*-dį-lį*	*-zį-lį*
Caritive	*-e-tek*	*-ed-tek*	*-ez-tek*	*-mį-tek*	*-dį-tek*	*-zį-tek*
Adverbial	*-e-ja*	*-ed-ja*	*-ez-ja*	*-mį-ja*	*-dį-ja*	*-zį-ja*
Instrumental°	*-enį-m*	*-enį-d*	*-enį-z*	*-enį-mį*	*-enį-dį*	*-enį-zį*
Approximative	*-e-lań*	*-ed-lań*	*-ez-lań*	*-mį-lań*	*-dį-lań*	*-zį-lań*
Inessive°	*-a-m*	*-a-d*	*-a-z*	*-a-mį*	*-a-dį*	*-a-zį*
Illative°	*-a-m*	*-a-d*	*-a-z*	*-a-mį*	*-a-dį*	*-a-zį*
Elative°	*-įśtį-m*	*-įśtį-d*	*-įśtį-z*	*-įśtį-mį*	*-įśtį-dį*	*-įśtį-zį*
Egressive°	*-įśenį-m*	*-įśenį-d*	*-įśenį-z*	*-įśenį-mį*	*-įśenį-dį*	*-įśenį-zį*
Transitive°	*-eti-m*	*-eti-d*	*-eti-z*	*-eti-mį*	*-eti-dį*	*-eti-zį*
Terminative	*-e-oź*	*-ed-oź*	*-ez-oź*	*-mį-oź*	*-dį-oź*	*-zį-oź* or
	-ośa-m	*-ośa-d*	*-ośa-z*	*-ośa-mį*	*-ośa-dį*	*-ośa-zį*

Possession in the plural

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Nominative	*-jos-į*	*-jos-įd*	*-jos-įz*	*-jos-mį*	*-jos-dį*	*-jos-zį*
Accusative	*-jos-m-e*	*-jos-t-e*	*-jos-s-e*	*-jos-m-es*	*-jos-t-es*	*-jos-s-es*
Genitive	*-jos-į-len*	*-jos-įd-len*	*-jos-įz-len*	*-jos-mį-len*	*-jos-tį-len*	*-jos-sį-len*
Ablative	*-jos-į-leś*	*-jos-įd-leś*	*-jos-įz-leś*	*-jos-mį-leś*	*-jos-tį-leś*	*-jos-sį-leś*
Dative	*-jos-į-lį*	*-jos-įd-lį*	*-jos-įz-lį*	*-jos-mį-lį*	*-jos-tį-lį*	*-jos-sį-lį*
Caritive	*-jos-į-tek*	*-jos-įd-tek*	*-jos-įz-tek*	*-jos-mį-tek*	*-jos-tį-tek*	*-jos-sį-tek*
Adverbial	*-jos-į-ja*	*-jos-įd-ja*	*-jos-įz-ja*	*-jos-mį-ja*	*-jos-tį-ja*	*-jos-sį-ja*
Instrumental°	*-jos-įnį-m*	*-jos-įnį-d*	*-jos-įnį-z*	*-jos-įnį-mį*	*-jos-įnį-dį*	*-jos-įnį-zį*
Approximative	*-jos-į-lań*	*-jos-įd-lań*	*-jos-įz-lań*	*-jos-mį-lań*	*-jos-tį-lań*	*-jos-sį-lań*
Inessive°	*-jos-a-m*	*-jos-a-d*	*-jos-a-z*	*-jos-a-mį*	*-jos-a-dį*	*-jos-a-zį*
Illative°	*-jos-a-m*	*-jos-a-d*	*-jos-a-z*	*-jos-a-mį*	*-jos-a-dį*	*-jos-a-zį*
Elative°	*-jos-įśtį-m*	*-jos-įśtį-d*	*-jos-įśtį-z*	*-jos-įśtį-mį*	*-jos-įśtį-dį*	*-jos-įśtį-zį*
Egressive°	*-jos-įśenį-m*	*-jos-įśenį-d*	*-jos-įśenį-z*	*-jos-įśenį-mį*	*-jos-įśenį-dį*	*-jos-įśenį-zį*
Transitive°	*-jos-ti-m*	*-jos-ti-d*	*-jos-ti-z*	*-jos-eti-mį*	*-jos-eti-dį*	*-jos-eti-zį*
Terminative	*-jos-į-oź*	*-jos-įd-oź*	*-jos-įz-oź*	*-jos-mį-oź*	*-jos-tį-oź*	*-jos-zį-oź* or
	-jos-ośa-m	*-jos-ośa-d*	*-jos-ośa-z*	*-jos-ośa-mį*	*-jos-ośa-dį*	*-jos-ośa-zį*

[4] The list does not contain any variants. Those which are listed are used after consonant. See above for the variants. "°" indicates the cases with the order CX - PX.

Separate forms for reflexive possessives are lacking, so the regular possessive affixes are used in the reflexive function:

(73) *so* *nįl-įn-įz* *veraśk-i-z*
He/she daughter-INSTR-3SG talk-PRET-3SG
'He/she talked to his/her daughter'

Examples of the use of PX:

1. A noun accompanied with a genitive attribute always has a PX:

(74) *Ondi-len* *nįl-įz*
PN-GEN daughter-3SG
'The daughter of Ondi'

(75) *pi-je-len* *kįšno-jez-len* *vįn-įz*
son-1SG-GEN wife-3SG-GEN sister-3SG
'The sister of the wife of my son'

If the reference of the PX ist clear (1st and 2nd persons) the genitive attribute is used only if the person has to be emphasized:

(76) *(mįnam)* *pi-je*
I-GEN son-1SG
'my son'

2. Habeo-construction:

(77) *so-len* *už-ez* *ęvęl*
he/she-GEN work-3SG NEX
'He/she has no work'

In this case, too, the genitive attribute appears only if the denoted person is emphasized:

(78) *(mįn-am)* *kįk* *pinal-e* *vań*
I-GEN two child-1SG EX/PRS
'I have two children'

In the habeo-construction the constituent expressing possession obligatorily bears the PX denoting the possessor. If the denotation is different, must be used another structure:

(79) *kin* *dor-įn* *(~ ki-įn)* *ḱniga-je?*
who side-IN (hand-IN) book-1SG
'Who has my book?'

3. Postpositional syntagms:

If the postposition in question belongs to the group of declined/declineable postpositions, the PX is added in any case to the postposition:

(80) *ǯẹk ul-i̯n*
table under-IN
'under the table'

(81) *(mi̯n-am) ǯẹk-e*
I-GEN table-1SG
'my table'

(82) *ǯẹk ul-a-m*
table under-IN-1SG
'under my table'

Otherwise the PX is added to the noun:

(83) *ni̯lpi-os-i̯ ponna*
child-PL-1SG for
'for my children'

2.3.1.4 Definiteness

Definiteness can be marked morphologically in Udmurt. Strictly speaking it is a kind of contrastive emphasis whose background need not be expressed explicitly in the context.

The domain of this category are the primarily attributively used parts of speech, i. e. cases like:

(84) *badǯi̯m-eś-jos-az gurt-jos-i̯n*
large-PL-PL-DEF/IN village-PL-IN
'in the large villages'

In the field of the accusative object the ending is traditionally classified as a case suffix (see above):

(85) *mon (ta) kńiga-jez li̯dǯ́-i*
I DEM book-ACC read-PRET/1SG
'I have read this book' or 'the book (about which we just talked)'

Examples of the use in the field of the subject:

(86) *guždor vi̯li̯n turi̯n-ez ćeber*
meadow(-NOM) on grass-DEF beautiful
'On the meadow the grass is beautiful'

(87) *kali̯k-ez troz*
people-DEF much
'(there is) a lot of people'

The last example reveals another function of the definite suffix, namely a kind of partitive; literally 'of the people much'.

The declension of nouns with the definite suffix is identical with that of nouns + PX 3SG except the following cases: elative (here *-ez-i̯ś́* vs *-i̯ś́ti̯-z*), egressive (here *-ez-i̯śen* vs *-i̯śeni̯-z*) and transitive (here *-ez-eti* vs *-(j)eti-z*). The order CX and DEF is therefore more standardized than CX and PX 3SG. Cf. the paradigm in 2.3.5.

2.3.2 Pronouns

The pronouns can be divided in two groups, primary (and non-compounded) and secondary (compounded) stems. To the first group belong personal, reflexive, (some) interrogative and demonstrative pronouns,to the second indefinite, reciprocal, some demonstrative and quantitative pronouns.

The inflexion of pronouns differs from that of nouns in the following ways:

1) There are some kind of variants not appearing in the field of nouns.

2) Partly different case suffixes are used.

3) In some cases a pleonastic PX forms a unit with the CX.

The pronouns have different functions, they are pro-nouns, pro-adjectives and pro-adverbs. As a rule they are inflected, as pro-nouns generally and as pro-adjectives (that is in attributive function) only if they bear DEF.

2.3.2.1 Personal pronouns

The deviations mentioned above concern the personal pronouns of the 1SG/PL and 2SG/PL, namely:

1) Stem variants: in the singular *mon- ~ mi̯n-, ton- ~ ti̯n-* (the last one in the genitive, ablative and dative), in the plural *mi- ~ mil'-* and *ti- ~ til'-* (the latter in the accusative und instrumental too);

2) other case suffixes: accusative 0 or *-ez* vs *-e* (cf. accusative of nouns with PX); ablative *-leś* vs *-eśt-*, besides the suffixes of genitive and dative fused with the PX;

3) Additional PX appear in the accusative, ablative, dative (PL) and instrumental (PL and SG only in the southern dialects), fused with the CX in the genitive, dative (SG, PL only in the northern dialects).

The personal pronoun of the 3rd person, identical with the demonstrative pronoun, is inflected like the nouns. As said above, nouns denoting animate referents are inflected only according to the grammatical cases. The parallel forms are dialect variants (S = southern, N = northern), both are permitted in the literary standard.

Declension of the personal pronouns

		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Nominative		*mon*	*ton*	*so*	*mi*	*ti*	*so-os*
Accusative	(S)	*mon-e*	*ton-e*	*so-je*	*miĺ-em-i̯z*	*tiĺ-ed-i̯z*	*so-os-i̯z*
	(N)				*miĺ-em-di̯*	*tiĺ-ed-di̯*	*so-os-ti̯*
Genitive		*mi̯n-am*	*ti̯n-ad*	*so-len*	*miĺ-am*	*tiĺ-ad*	*so-os-len*
Ablative		*mi̯n-eśti̯-m*	*ti̯n-eśti̯-d*	*so-leś*	*miĺ-eśti̯-m*	*tiĺ-eśti̯-d*	*so-os-leś*
Dative	(S)	*mi̯n-i̯m*	*ti̯n-i̯d*	*so-li̯*	*miĺ-em-li̯*	*tiĺ-ed-li̯*	*so-os-li̯*
	(N)				*miĺ-em*	*tiĺ-ed*	
Caritive		*mon-tek*	*ton-tek*	*so-tek*	*mi-tek*	*ti-tek*	*so-os-tek*
Adverbial		*mon-ja*	*ton-ja*	*so-ja*	*mi-ja*	*ti-ja*	*so-os-ja*
Instrumental	(S)	*mon-en*	*ton-en*	*so-in*	*miĺ-em-i̯n*	*tiĺ-ed-i̯n*	*so-os-i̯n*
	(N)	*mon-eni̯-m*	*ton-eni̯-d*		*miĺ-eni̯-mi̯*	*tiĺ-eni̯-di̯*	
Approximative		*mon-lań*	*ton-lań*	*so-lań*	*mi-lań*	*ti-lań*	*so-os-lań*

Local relations are marked by a postposition plus PX: *vi̯la-m* 'on me', *dora-d* 'to you', *ula-mi̯* 'below us' etc. (the postpositional structure - personal pronoun instead PX - is possible, too: *mon vi̯li̯n* etc).

The additional use of the genitive of the personal pronoun marks the emphasizing of the possessive relation: *eš-e* 'my friend' vs *mi̯nam eš-e* 'MY friend'. The ablative of the personal pronoun is used, if the noun (= head) itself stands in the accusative: *mi̯neśti̯m eš-me* 'MY friend (ACC)'. Still more emphasizing is the use of the genitive resp. ablative of the personal pronoun if it bears the DEF and therefore shows agreement with the noun: *mi̯n-am-ez gurt-e* (NOM.) 'just my village', *mi̯n-am-ez-leń gurt-e-leń* (GEN), *mi̯n-am-ez-li̯ gurt-e-li̯* (DAT), *mi̯n-eśt-i̯m-ez gurt-m-e* (ACC) etc.

2.3.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

There are simple and compounded demonstrative pronouns. As shown below, deictic and anaphoric demonstratives oppose two degrees of deixis: proximal and distal deixis. The Udmurt inventory is the following:

1. Deictic demonstratives:

proximal	distal
ta 'this'	*so* 'that'
ta-iz 'this very'	*so-iz* 'that very'

2. Anaphoric demonstratives:

tače 'like this'	*si̯če* 'like that'
tače-jez 'like this very'	*si̯če-jez* 'like that very'

3. Quantifying demonstratives:

ta-mi̯nda 'this much'	*so-mi̯nda* 'that much'

The second pairs of the first two groups consist of stem + DEF. The second part of the quantifying demonstratives is an also independently occurring word with the meaning 'about, approximately'.

The inflexion of the demonstrative pronouns is very regular and follows that of the nouns. That of the demonstratives + DEF is equal to the inflexion of the nouns + PX3SG (that is, it differs from other parts of speech + DEF). The paradigm of the non-compounded pronouns is again suppletive inasmuch as the forms of the local cases are formed by postpositions (the terminative of the compounded pronouns, too).

Declension of the demonstrative pronouns

	SG		PL	
Nominative	*ta*	*ta-iz*	*ta-os*	*ta-os-i̯z*
Accusative	*ta-je*	*ta-ze*	*ta-os-i̯z/-ti̯*	*ta-os-se*
Genitive	*ta-len*	*ta-iz-len*	*ta-os-len*	*ta-os-i̯z-len*
Ablative	*ta-leś*	*ta-iz-leś*	*ta-os-leś*	*ta-os-i̯z-leś*
Dative	*ta-li̯*	*ta-iz-li̯*	*ta-os-li̯*	*ta-os-i̯z-li̯*
Caritive	*ta-tek*	*ta-iz-tek*	*ta-os-tek*	*ta-os-i̯z-tek*
Adverbial	*ta-ja*	*ta-iz-ja*	*ta-os-ja*	*ta-os-i̯z-ja*
Instrumental	*ta-in*	*ta-in-i̯z*	*ta-os-i̯n*	*ta-os-i̯n-i̯z*
Approximative		*ta-iz-lań*		*ta-os-i̯z-lań*
Inessive		*ta-ja-z*		*ta-os-a-z*
Illative		*ta-ja-z*		*ta-os-a-z*
Elative		*ta-išti̯-z*		*ta-os-i̯šti̯-z*
Egressive		*ta-išeni̯-z*		*ta-os-i̯šeni̯-z*
Transitive		*ta-jeti-z*		*ta-os-eti-z*
Terminative		*ta-iz doroź*		*ta-os-i̯z doroź*

By postponed *ik* (for example *so ik* 'just that', *si̯če ik* 'just like that') the referential identity is expressed (probably according to the Russian *же*).

2.3.2.3 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronoun has three stem variants: *as-*, *ać-* (only in the singular) and *aś-* (only in the plural). In the singular *as-* and *ać-* are clearly distributed: *as-* in the accusative, the *l*-cases (GEN, ABL, DAT) und the instrumental, *ać-* elsewhere.

The reflexive pronoun is always inflected with PX. In the singular paradigm the endings are largely identical with those of the personal pronouns (except ACC, here without *l*, and the 3SG which follows the pattern of the other reflexives and not that of the nouns), that means, the order of CX and PX depends on the case. The plural paradigm in contrast is very uniform: stem - PX -

(PL -) CX. Only the southern variants of ACC and INSTR deviate, because they bear two PX. As said above, the paradigm contains only the grammatical cases.

Declension of the reflexive pronouns

		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Nominative		*ać-im*	*ać-id*	*ać-iz*	*aś-me-os*	*aś-te-os*	*aś-se-os*
Accusative	(S)	*as-m-e*	*as-t-e*	*as-s-e*	*aś-me-m-ịz*	*aś-te-d-ịz*	*aś-se-z-ịz*
	(N)				*aś-me-dị*	*aś-te-dị*	*aś-se-zị*
Genitive		*as-lam*	*as-lad*	*as-laz*	*aś-me-len*	*aś-te-len*	*aś-se-len*
Ablative		*as-leśt-ịm*	*as-leśt-ịd*	*as-leśt-ịz*	*aś-me-leś*	*aś-te-leś*	*aś-se-leś*
Dative		*as-lị́m*	*as-lị́d*	*as-lị́z*	*aś-me-lị́*	*aś-te-lị́*	*aś-se-lị́*
Caritive	(S)	*ać-im-tek*	*ać-id-tek*	*ać-iz-tek*	*aś-me-tek*	*aś-te-tek*	*aś-se-tek*
	(N)				*aś-me-os-tek*	*aś-te-os-tek*	*aś-se-os-tek*
Adverbial	(S)	*ać-im-ja*	*ać-id-ja*	*ać-iz-ja*	*aś-me-ja*	*aś-te-ja*	*aś-se-ja*
	(N)				*aś-me-os-ja*	*aś-te-os-ja*	*aś-se-os-ja*
Instrumental	(S)	*as-en-ịm*	*as-en-ịd*	*as-en-ịz*	*aś-me-m-ịn*	*aś-te-d-ịn*	*aś-se-z-ịn*
	(N)				*aś-me-os-ịn*	*aś-te-os-ịn*	*aś-se-os-ịn*
Approximative		*ać-im-lań*	*ać-id-lań*	*ać-iz-lań*	*aś-me-lań*	*aś-te-lań*	*aś-se-lań*
	(N)				*aś-me-os-lań*	*aś-te-os-lań*	*aś-se-os-lań*

Examples of the function:

The genitive form is used for emphasizing the possessive relation:

(88) *as-lam* *korka-je*
house-1SG
'my own house'

Pro-adjective functions:

1) Following a noun (especially personal pronouns and names) and being in agreement with them it emphasizes the referent of the noun:

(89) *mon* *ać-im* *so-lị́* *kužị́m-ez* *šot-i*
I myself-1SG he/she-DAT gift-ACC give-PRET/1SG
'I myself gave him the gift'

(90) *so* *mịnị́m* *kužị́m-ze* *as-lị́m* *šot-i-z*
he/she I-DAT gift-ACC/3SG myself-DAT/1SG give-PRET-3SG
'He/she gave me myself the gift'

2) The stem *as-* alone as well as the forms of GEN resp. ABL (if the governing constituent functions as a direct object in the sentence) are used as an adjective with the meaning 'own':

(91) *so* *as* *kịl-ịn-ịz* *veraśk-e*
he/she language-IN-3SG speak-PRS/3SG
'He speaks in his own language'

Usually the governing constituent bears PX, but it is used without PX as well.

2.3.2.4 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocals are compounded and consist of the variants of the numeral 'one', *og* and *odig*, namely *og - og-*, *odig - og-* or *odig- - og-*, to which the respective PX is added, either only to the first part or to both: 1PL *og-ogmị ~ odig-ogmị ~ odigmị-ogmị*.

The inflexion follows the pattern of the nouns with PX (2.3.1.3). The CX appears only on one part of the compound; if it is added to the second, the first does not even bear PX: *og-ogmes ~ odig-ogmes ~ odigmes-ogmị* (1PL/ACC), *og-ogmịlen ~ odig-ogmịlen ~ odigmịlen-ogmị* (1PL/GEN) etc. The forms of the nominative are used with postpositions: *ogmị dorịn ogmị* or *og-ogmị dorịn* 'we together'.

2.3.2.5 Interrogative/relative pronouns

The most important interrogatives are simple words. Udmurt has the following inventory: *kin* 'who (persons)', *ma, mar* 'what (non-persons)'[5], *kịče* 'what kind', *kud* 'which' and *kẹńa* 'how much'; compounded: *kud-iz* (with DEF) 'which' and *kud-mị, kud-dị, kud-zị* 'which of us/you/them' (with PX1PL/2PL/3PL). *Ma, mar* are free variants. The use of *kud* (without DEF) is very restricted (for example *kud palaś* 'from which side').

The non-compounded interrogatives decline like nouns (for example *kin-e* (ACC), *kin-len* (GEN), *ma(r)-lị́* (DAT), *ma-in/mar-en* (INSTR)), *kud-iz* is declined like an adjective + DEF and the other compounded interrogatives follow the pattern of nouns with corresponding PX. Again only the grammatical cases of *kin* are in use.

Examples:

(92) *kin-ed* *vań* *korka-d?*
who-2SG EX/PRS house-(IN)/2SG
'Who is in your house'

(93) *kud-iz-lị́* *pi-jed-lị́* *korka* *pukt-i-d?*
which-DEF-DAT son-2SG-DAT house(-ACC) build-PRET-2SG
'For which one of your did you build a house?'

The interrogative pronouns function as relative pronouns, too (see 3.3.2).

2.3.2.6 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns are compounded and consist of the interrogative as the pronominal component. The second element is either a prefix (*no-*[6]) or a particle (suffixed or postponed *ke* 'if, when', prefixed *olo* 'perhaps').

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[5] Recently *kin* has been used for animate, *ma(r)* for inanimate objects due to Russian influence.

[6] *ńeno-* is used in the dialects and in poetic style.

olo-kin	'someone'	*(ńe)no-kin*	'no one'	*kin ke ~ kinke*	'whoever'
-ma(r)	'somewhat, -thing'	*-ma(r)*	'nothing'	*ma(r)ke*	'whatever'
-kud(iz)	'some, any'	*-kud(iz)*	'nobody'	*kudiz ke*	'whichever'
-kįče	'some kind'	*-kįče*	'none'	*kįče ke*	'which kind ever'
-kęńa	'some, several'	*-kęńa*	'none at all'	*kęńa ke*	'some, several'

The indefinites are declined like the corresponding interrogative pronouns. In the case of *kinke* (with suffixed *ke*) the inflexional endings are added to the end of the word (for example DAT *kinkelį*), in the case of *kin ke* to *kin*: *kinlį ke*. If a (pluralic) PX is added to the pronoun (for example *nokinmį* 'no one of us'), it declines like a noun + PX.

2.3.2.7 Quantitative pronouns

Quantitative pronouns are partly compounded, partly simple words. To the first group belong those formed with the prefix *koť-* (probably from the Russian *хотьь*) and interrogatives: *koťkin* 'anyone, everyone, no matter who', *koťma(r), koťkud(iz), koťkįče* 'anything, everything, no matter what', *koťkęna* 'no matter how much'. In the second group are *vań, vańmįz* 'all', which is identical with the existential verb *vań* 'there is/are', *muket* 'other' and *bįdes* 'all'.

For the declension see 2.3.2.6. *vańmįz* declines like an adjective + DEF.

Part of the quantitative pronouns are the numerals, derived by *-na* and provided with PX expressing the number of the persons to which the PX refers: *og-na-m* 'I alone', *kįk-na-mį* 'we both', *viť-na-dį* 'you five'. Their declension deviate from that of the nouns + PX in so far as it has a uniform order of PX and CX and it uses some different CX (ACC of the pluralic PX). As an example the paradigm of 'one' ('I alone', 'you alone' etc.) is given below.

Declension of the pronominalized numerals

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Nominative	*og-na-m*	*og-na-d*	*og-na-z*	*og-na-mį*	*og-na-dį*	*og-na-zį*
Accusative	*og-na-m-e*	*og-na-d-e*	*og-na-z-e*	*og-na-m-estį*	*og-na-d-estį*	*og-na-z-estį*
Genitive	*og-na-m-len*	*og-na-d-len*	*og-na-z-len*	*og-na-mį-len*	*og-na-dį-len*	*og-na-zį-len*
Ablative	*og-na-m-leś*	*og-na-d-leś*	*og-na-z-leś*	*og-na-mį-leś*	*og-na-dį-leś*	*og-na-zį-leś*
Dative	*og-na-m-lį*	*og-na-d-lį*	*og-na-z-lį*	*og-na-mį-lį*	*og-na-dį-lį*	*og-na-zį-lį*
Caritive	*og-na-m-tek*	*og-na-d-tek*	*og-na-z-tek*	*og-na-mį-tek*	*og-na-dį-tek*	*og-na-zį-tek*
Adverbial	*og-na-m-ja*	*og-na-d-ja*	*og-na-z-ja*	*og-na-mį-ja*	*og-na-dį-ja*	*og-na-zį-ja*
Instrumental	*og-na-m-en*	*og-na-d-en*	*og-na-z-en*	*og-na-mį-jen*	*og-na-dį-jen*	*og-na-zį-jen*

2.3.3 Numerals

Synchronically the cardinal numerals 1-10, 20, 30, 100 and 1000 are simple words. The decimal numerals from 40 to 90 are derived by *-don/-ton* and all the other numerals are simply compounds with the smaller numeral at the end.

Numerals as attributes are never inflected (no agreement) except when they bear DEF. The governing constituent appears in the singular or in the plural; the latter is a secondary phenomenon.

Cardinal numbers

1	*odig*	10	*das*	100	*šu*	1000	*šurs*
2	*kįk*	20	*kįž*				
3	*kuiń*	30	*kuamįn*				
4	*ńįľ*	40	*ńįľdon*				
5	*viť*	50	*viťton*				
6	*kuať*	60	*kuaťton*				
7	*šižįm*	70	*šižįmdon*				
8	*ťamįs*	80	*ťamįston*				
9	*ukmįs*	90	*ukmįston*				

Examples of compounded cardinals: *das odig* 'eleven', *kįž kįk* 'twenty two', *kįk šu kuamįn viť* 'two hundred thirty five' etc.

(94) *ńįľdon viť skal-lį ~ skal-jos-lį gid lešt-i-zį*
forty five cow-DAT ~PL-DAT barn(-ACC) build-PRET-3PL
'They built a barn for 45 cows'

(95) *odig-az sįče korka-n vįľ škola*
one-IN/3SG like that house-IN new school(-NOM)
'In one of such houses there is a new school'

The cardinal numerals are declined for case, possession and definiteness like nouns. Only the last part of compounded numerals receives the ending.

Ordinals are derived from cardinals by the suffix *-eti* (suppletive *nįrįš-eti* 'first', but in compounded numerals *odig-eti*), fractionals by *-mos*.

(96) *so ul-i-z kuamįn ńįľ-eti-jaz kvarťira-įn*
he/she live-PRET-3SG thirty four-ORD-DEF/IN apartment-IN
'He/she lived in the apartment number 35'

(97) *kuiń ńįľ-mos*
three four-FRAC
'three quarters'

An approximate quantity or value is expressed - besides by lexical means - in the following way:

a) by *og* ('one'): *og ukmįston mašina* 'about 90 cars';

b) by deriving the numeral by *-o*: *das-o minut-jos* 'about 10 minuts'.

2.3.4 Adjectives

Morphologically adjectives differ from nouns in the following respect:

a) The derivational suffixes for adjectives (s. 2.3.4) are different from those for nouns (but there are many underived adjectives which do not differ from underived nouns).

b) Adjectives are inflected with regard to comparison (the comparison suffix however appears with nouns, too - in other functions, see 2.5.3).

c) Without DEF they are declined only with regard to number.

In attributive function the adjective precedes the governing constituent and it does not show agreement with regard to case, but probably to number in the case of the plural. The plural suffix of the adjective is *-eś́*:

(98) *badʒ́i̯m* *gurt-jos*
large village-PL
'large villages (in general)'

(98') *badʒ́i̯m-eś́* *gurt-jos*
large-PL village-PL
'large villages (everyone is large)'

The difference between (98) and (98') is that in the latter the individual units are to the fore.

(99) *badʒ́i̯m(-eś́)* *gurt-jos-i̯n*
large(-PL) village-PL-IN
'in large villages'.

If provided with DEF, the adjective attribute agrees in case as well with the governing constituent:

(100) *badʒ́i̯m-eś́-jos-i̯z* *gurt-jos*
large-PL-PL-DEF village-PL
'the large villages'

(101) *badʒ́i̯m-eś́-jos-az* *gurt-jos-i̯n*
large-PL-PL-DEF/IN village-PL-IN
'in the large villages'

In cases like these the plural is expressed twice because the suffix of definiteness also demands marking with respect to number. The declension of adjectives + DEF is like that of nouns + PX 3SG.

As a predicative noun the adjective agrees with regard to number too:

(102) *gurt-jos* *badʒ́i̯m-eś́*
village-PL large-PL
'The villages are large'

2.3.4.1 Comparison

1) The absolute degree is unmarked.

2) The comparative is formed with the suffix ***-ges*** (or ***-gem***). In predicative function the plural suffix *-eś́* precedes the comparative suffix. The compared constituent is marked either by the ablative or by nominative + postposition *śari̯ś́* 'of, about':

(103) *kilometr* *iśkem-leś́/iśkem* *śari̯ś́* *vakći-ges*
kilometer(-NOM) mile-ABL/(NOM) about short-COMP
'A kilometer is shorter than a mile'

(104) *oti̯n* *pispu-os* *ǯužɨ̯t-eś́-ges*
there tree-PL high-PL-COMP
'There the trees are higher'

The use of the comparative is not obligatory. If the (syntactic) context is clear (for example if there is a compared constituent in the ablative or as a postpositional constituent), the use of the positive is possible as well:

(103') *kilometr iśkem-leś́/iśkem śari̯ś́ vakći*

The semantic difference is that, that in (103') only the difference is emphasized, whereas in (103) priority is given to the extent of the difference.

If the adjective in attributive function is declined (because of DEF), the comparative suffix can precede or follow (this is the rule) the other inflexional suffixes:

(105) *badʒ́im-ez-len-ges* *gurt-len* (oder: *badʒ́im-ges-ez-len*)
large-DEF-GEN-COMP village-GEN
'of this larger village'

The comparative suffix *-ges/-gem* occurs added to adverbs (*kema-ges* 'longer') as well as to certain particles (*tros-ges* 'very') too.

Apart from this comparative function the suffix can also express just the opposite, namely indicate the smaller degree of the quality; in this case the syntactical context differs from that of the real comparison in that is there is no compared constituent marked by the ablative or nominative + postposition *śari̯ś́* 'of, about':

(106) *Sandi̯r-len ćagi̯r-ges* *śin-jos-az* *śinki̯l'i-os* *pot-i-zi̯*
PN blue-"COMP" eye-PL-ILL/3SG tear-PL leave-PRET-3PL
'Tears welled up in Sandi̯rs bluish eyes'

-ges/-gem can actually even be added to finite verbal forms (and to gerunds, participles, predicative nouns) as the last part of the sequence of suffixes. It marks the extent of the predication and its scale extends from 'more' to 'less' due to the fact that the suffix has two functions which are not always syntactically differentiated: the version depends on the context.

(107) *al'i* *mon no* *viśi-śko-ges*
now I too be ill-PRS/1SG-QUANT
'Now I'm a little bit ill too'

(108) *soku* *oti̯n* *ke* *lui̯-sal-mi̯,* *vala-sal-mi̯-ges*
then there if be-KOND-1PL unterstand-KOND-1PL-QUANT
'If we had been there at that time, we would understand it (a little bit) better'

3) There is no morphologically formed superlative, but there are some analytic possibilities:

a) the particle *samoj* (borrowed from Russian) + positive (+ DEF, if necessary): *samoj badžim* 'biggest';

b) the quantitative pronouns *vańmiz* 'all', *koťkin, koťma, koťkudiz* 'no matter who/what' in the ablative + positive (+ DEF, if necessary): *vańmizleš vil'* 'newest';

c) the combination of the adjective in the ablative + *no* + the same adjective in the positive: *tędi-leš no tęď i* 'whitest'.

4) A kind of superlative - better: intensive - can be formed with the help of particles or by reduplication:

a) the particles *tuž, ukir, jun* 'very' + positive, z.B. *jun mur* 'deepest' or in predicative function *tuž* + COMP *-ges* + positive: *tužges no vil'* 'newest';

b) reduplication of the lexeme: *gord-gord* 'reddest'.

5) There is no morphologically formed equative in Udmurt. Paraphrases use lexical means and the positive: *kaď* 'like' or *bidža* 'as big as etc.'.

2.3.4.2 Adverbs

The number of simple words is small (that means, of such lexemes that are only adverbs). Morphologically they do not differ from other parts of speech. Examples: *junme* 'in vain', *jalan* 'always', *kema* 'a long time' etc.

In most cases verbal modification is expressed by morphologically unmarked adjectives (in the positive and the comparative degree) and (in some cases) nouns, for example *sizil* 'in autumn'. Besides there are some adverbs derived from adjectives or nouns. A few of them are petrified sporadic cases, like *tolalte* 'in winter' (*tol* 'winter'), whereas the others form small groups; their derivational suffices are not or only restrictedly productive. To these belong:

-bit for nouns marking time of day and year, for example *lum-bit* 'the whole day', *gužem-bit* 'the whole summer'.

-(s)kin for the same kind of nouns, for example *ar-skin* 'through the year', *uj-bit-skin* 'through the whole night' and for derived simple cardinal numerals marking a period of time, *das-oj-skin* 'in the course of 10 days'. To a small extent this suffix derives adverbs like *umoj-skin* 'during good times' (*umoj* 'good').

-oj derives expressions for period of time from cardinal numerals, *kikt-oj* 'through two days (and nights)'.

-ak derives adverbs of manner like *čal-ak* 'quietly' (from *čal*), *vaj-ak* 'wide open' (from *vaj* 'fork').

-(j)en (identical with INSTR), for example *žog-en* from *žog* 'fast' or *og-en* 'alone, separate' from *og* 'one', *kik-en* 'in twos' from *kik* 'two'.

-iš (identical with EL), for example *kužm-iš* 'by force' (from *kužim* 'force').

Spatial adverbs are typically distributed among regular series with local cases, for example:

	IN	ILL	EL	EGR	TER	TR	APPR
'here'	*tat-in*	*tat-ći*	*tat-iš*	*tat-išen*	*tat-ći-ož*	*ta-ti*	*ta-lań*
'there'	*ot-in*	*ot-ći*	*ot-iš*	*ot-išen*	*ot-ći-ož*	*o-ti*	*o-lań*
'nowhere'	*no-kit-in*	*no-kit-ći*	*no-kit-iš*	*no-kit-išen*		*no-ki-ti*	
'below'	*ul-in*	*ul-e*	*ul-iš*	*ul-išen*		*ul-ti*	*ul-lań*
'up'	*vil-in*	*vil-e*	*vil-iš*	*vil-išen*		*vil-ti*	*vil-lań*

Other possibilities to form adverbs are combining either different lexemes with the same endings (like *šintem-pel'tem* 'carefree, -less' (lit. 'without eyes- without ears'), *ujen-nunalen* 'day and night') or the same lexeme twice (like *dirin-dirin* 'from time to time' (lit. 'in the time-in the time')) etc.

2.3.5 Nominal categorizers

The derivative formation of nouns is weakly developed with regard to the agglutinative character of the language, a phenomenon which is not rare in the Finno-Ugric languages.

One can distinguish three kinds of nominal categorizers:

a) Those taking a declined noun (or even a syntagm) as their basis,

b) those which derive nouns from verbs and

c) those which operate within the area of nouns.

1) By means of PX3SG[7] declined nouns can be "nominalized". Semantically they are shortened, synthetic expressions of complex expressions, the nominalizer marking the known (from the context) part without designating it explicitly:

(109) *Ivan-len* *gurt-ez* - (109') *Ivan-len-ez*
PN-GEN village-3SG PN-GEN-NOMIN
'village of Ivan' 'that of Ivan'

(110) *Ivan-len-ez-len* *l'ipet-ez*
PN-GEN-NOMIN-GEN roof-3SG
'the roof of that of Ivan'

[7] The declension of those nouns is equal to nouns + DEF deviating in EL, EGR and TR from nouns + PX/3SG ab. Example:

Nominative	*gurt-len-ez*	Approximative	*gurt-len-ez-lań*
Accusative	*gurt-len-ze*	Inessive	*gurt-len-a-z*
Genitive	*gurt-len-ez-len*	Illative	*gurt-len-a-z*
Ablative	*gurt-len-ez-leš*	Elative	*gurt-len-ez-iš*
Dative	*gurt-len-ez-li*	Egressive	*gurt-len-ez-išen*
Caritive	*gurt-len-ez-tek*	Transitive	*gurt-len-ez-eti*
Adverbial	*gurt-len-ez-ja*	Terminative	*gurt-len-ez-ož*
Instrumental	*gurt-len-en-iz*		

(111) *eš-jos-mi̯-len-jos-i̯z-li̯*
friend-PL-1PL-GEN-PL-NOMIN-DAT
'to those of our friends/belonging to our friends'

The basis can be a declined noun (*ton-en-ez* 'that, which is with you', INSTR from 'you'), adverbs (like *tati̯ś-ez* 'that, which is from there'), postpositional syntagms (like *ton ponna-jez* 'that, which is for you', *ponna* 'for') and infinite verbal forms (like *vuza-no-jez* 'that which is to be sold', s. 2.4.5.2).

2) Deverbal categorizers only form substantives, like *-on/-n* (*veraśk-on* 'conversation' from *veraśki̯ni̯* 'to talk'; rarely used as adjectives too), *-et* (*jurtt-et* 'help' from *jurtti̯ni̯* 'to help') or *-em/-m* (*puk-em* 'chair' from *puki̯ni̯* 'to sit'); this last form is identical with the ending of the participle perfect. There is no semantic difference between these two forms, but a syntactical: While the participle form retains its government pattern, the deverbal derived substantive behaves like a real noun in the sense that it governs only adnominal modifiers in the genitive. In practice the difference is not always clear.

3) Denominal categorizers to a larger extent form adjectives - like *-o* (*kužmo* 'strong' from *kužim* 'strength'), *-tem* (*vutem* 'without water' from *vu* 'water') - and some substantives, like *-li̯k* (*tazali̯k* 'health' from *taza* 'healthy'; suffix borrowed from Tatar). The suffix *-jos* identical with the plural marker forms collective nouns, even from declined nouns like *aš-me-len-jos* 'those who belong to us' (reflexive pronoun + 1PL + GEN + COLL).

There are no morphological means for marking the categories equative, diminutive and augmentative.

2.4 Verbal morphology

Verb-forms can be classified as finite and infinite. A finite verb-form is marked for the categories tense/mood and for person/number in agreement with the subject; there is no morphological finite passiv. These four categories are not limitlessly compatible with each other. Besides the morphologically marked categories there are also those marked with the help of derivative or lexical means (2.4.5 and 2.4.2.2).

The main categories are synthetically formed. The order of these categories is the following: (stem) - tense/mood - person (- number). Analytically formed are certain tense- and mood-forms (by means of particles = infinite auxiliary verbs) and all negative forms (with the help of a negative verb).

The infinite verbal forms are synthetically formed. They are used in functions typically fulfilled by other parts of speech: participles (used as noun modifiers), gerunds (verbal adverbs), infinitive and action nominals (verbal nouns).

Udmurt has *i̯*- and *a*-stems and corresponding to them two conjugational classes. Synchronically there are no semantic differences between these two classes; historically the *a*-stems are derived by the frequentative *-al-* (the *-l-* is preserved in the PRS 3PL). Morphologically these two stems differ from each other: the *a*-stems always keep the stem-vowel (= *-a*), whereas in the *i̯*-stems the alternations *i̯* ~ *i* ~ 0 occur:

a) The stem vowel disappears, when the anlaut of the suffix is a vowel: **mi̯ni̯-o* > *mino* 'I shall go': *i̯* > V_x /_#V_x (-).

b) The stem-vowel changes into *i* before a suffix with initial palatal C (= *ś, l'*): *i̯* > *i*/_#*ś*(-) (but before non-palatal C *i̯*: *mi̯ni̯-mte-jez* 'they say that he has not gone'; *mi̯ni̯-sal* 'I would go'; *gožti̯-ti̯-ni̯* 'to let write').

The traditional approach says that there are two stems, a longer one with this *-i̯* and a shorter one without this *i̯* (and *i* as part of the following suffix).

Udmurt has no conjugateable verb 'to be', but only two petrified forms of it, the preterital form *val* and the form of the participle *vi̯lem* also expressing modal nuances. These two forms are also used as a kind of an existential verb, which has a corresponding form of the present: *vań*.[8] The negative forms are: present *e̯ve̯l*, preterite *e̯j val* and participle *vi̯lem e̯ve̯l* resp. *vi̯li̯mte*. These particles show verbal behaviour in so far as they take the same position in a clause as real verbs, namely usually the clause-final. On the other hand *e̯ve̯l* and *vań* appear with the case suffix of the instrumental:

(112) *końdon* *e̯ve̯l-en*
money NEX-INSTR
'due to lack of money'

(113) *ton* *vań-en* *umoj* *uli-śko*
you EX-INSTR well live-PRS/1SG
lit. 'I live well having you'

e̯ve̯l even occurs derived: *e̯ve̯l-tem* 'lacking' (lit. NEX-without). In this case the derivational suffix does not add any new semantic nuance to the word, but transfers it to an adjective.

The form of the dictionary is the infinitive (ending in *-ni̯*), preceded by the vowel of the stem (*-a* resp. *-i̯*).

2.4.1 Personal suffixes

In Udmurt the categories person and number cannot always be strictly distinguished. Besides, the marking is not always very clear: On the one hand, different suffixes are used for one category, on the other hand one suffix can partly mark different categories. In parts of some

[8] According to that three functions - EX/PRET, COP/PRET and AUX/PRET - are related to *val*. By the way, *vań* is homonymous with the word for 'all'.

categories there is no marking of person and number. Udmurt has the following personal suffixes:

	SG		PL		Negative verb SG		PL	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
1st person	0	*-j*	*-m(i)*		*-g*	*-j*	*-m*	
2nd person	*-d*	0	*-di̯*	*-ele*	*-d*	*-n*	*-d*	*-n*
3rd person	*-z*	*-e*/0	*-zi̯*	*-o*/*-lo;*	*-z*	*-g*	*-z*	*-g*

(1) shows the regular suffixes, (2) the variants:

a) 1SG: *j* (< **i*, historically the marker of the preterite) appears in the preterite of the *a*-stems and the negative verb.

b) 2SG/PL: the suffixes of the imperative.

c) 3SG/PL: the suffixes of the present (*-i̯*/*a*-stems).

These personal suffixes are identical with the corresponding PX of the nouns except 1SG.

It should be mentioned that the 3PL is used in a generic sense too, like

(114) *tatin* *uža-lo*
here work-PRET/3SG
'They work here'

2.4.2 TAM-system

Tense categories exist in the indicative and the evidential.

2.4.2.1 Tense/Aspect/Aktionsart

1. The marker of the **present** in the 1st and 2nd persons is ***-ško-*** (historically a frequentative suffix). The 3SG has no ending in the *a*-stems, but *-e* in the *i̯*-stems. The 3PL is formed by adding *-lo* in the *a*-stems, *-o* in the *i̯*-stems.

	i̯-stem	*a*-stem
	mi̯ni̯-ni̯ 'go'	*uža-ni̯* 'work'
1 SG	*mi̯ni-ško*	*uža-ško*
2 SG	*mi̯ni-ško-d*	*uža-ško-d*
3 SG	*min-e*	*uža*
1 PL	*mi̯ni-ško-m(i̯)*	*uža-ško-m(i̯)*
2 PL	*mi̯ni-ško-di̯*	*uža-ško-di̯*
3 PL	*mi̯n-o*	*uža-lo*

The present is not only used for actions taking place at the current point of time, but also for those which will take place in the very near future:

(115) *mon* *čukaže* *koški-ško*
I tomorrow leave-PRS/1SG
'I'll leave tomorrow'

2. The **future** (historically present) is formed with ***-o-*** in the *i̯*-stems, by ***-lo-*** in the *a*-stems:

1 SG	*mi̯n-o*	*uža-lo*
2 SG	*mi̯n-o-d*	*uža-lo-d*
3 SG	*min-o-z*	*uža-lo-z*
1 PL	*mi̯n-o-m(i̯)*	*uža-lo-m(i̯)*
2 PL	*mi̯n-o-di̯*	*uža-lo-di̯*
3 PL	*mi̯n-o-zi̯*	*uža-lo-zi̯*

The function of the future tense is indifferent with the regard to aspect, it is used both for resultative and irresultative actions.

3. **Preterite and Pluperfect**

Udmurt has two morphological and one lexical means to form past tenses, namely the (proto-Uralic) preterital suffix **i* (which is conserved as *j* in the 1SG of the *a*-stems), the (also proto-Uralic) marker of the perfect participle *-m* and the petrified verbal form *val* (see above). Forms with the participle suffix have modal functions, too (2.4.2.2), as a marker of tense it always appears with PX and in connection with *val*. Besides, *val* occurs in morphologically formed finite verbal forms of other tenses (present, future, preterite), transferring their specific features into the past.

3.1 **Preterite I-IV**

3.1.1 There is a difference between the two stems: the *i̯*-stems have the marker *i* for the preterite I, in the *a*-stems there is no separate one, the personal marker is simply added to the stem.

1 SG	*mi̯n-i*	*uža-j*
2 SG	*mi̯n-i-d*	*uža-d*
3 SG	*min-i-z*	*uža-z*
1 PL	*mi̯n-i-m(i̯)*	*uža-mi̯*
2 PL	*mi̯n-i-di̯*	*uža-di̯*
3 PL	*mi̯n-i-zi̯*	*uža-zi̯*

The preterite I, too, is indifferent with regard to aspect. For a special use of this tense see (3.3.2.1.1).

3.1.2 The preterite II is formed with the *(e)m*-participle (cf. 2.4.5.2) + PX + *vań*:

1 SG	*mi̯n-em-e vań*	*uža-m-e vań*
2 SG	*mi̯n-em-ed vań*	*uža-m-ed vań*
3 SG	*min-em-ez vań*	*uža-m-ez vań*

1 PL	*mįn-em-mį vań*	*uža-m-mį vań*
2 PL	*mįn-em-dį vań*	*uža-m-dį vań*
3 PL	*mįn-em-zį vań*	*uža-m-zį vań*

Strictly speaking these forms are not finite, but nominal + existential verb. According to this the explicitly expressed agent appears in the genitive, like *mįnam mįneme vań* (lit. 'my gone exist'). Semantically the preterite II is used for a completed action in the past (this the traditional definition), but usually there is an additional meaning, namely the general action has already taken place.

(116) *jazyčnik ...* *kįl-em-e* *vań* *so* *kįl-ez*
(a Russian word) hear-PART-1SG EX/PRS DEM word-ACC
'Jazyčnik ... I heard this word (already)'

(117) *Mami, mon solį nim no šoti: Fram. Kįlemed vań-a sįče nimo punijez? - Vań, Tol'ik, kįleme vań.*
'Mummy, I gave it the name *Fram*. Have you already heard about a dog with such a name? - Yes, Tol'ik, I've already heard.'

3.1.3 The preterite III (the so-called durative preterite) is formed by the forms of the present + *val* like *mįniško val, mįniškod val* etc. As said above, *val* transfers, so to speak, the present into the past. According to this it expresses an irresultative continuous action of the past.

(118) *škola-įn* *uža-ku-m,* *mon* *pinal-jos-tį* *ožį ik* *dįšeti-ško* *val*
school-IN work-GER-1SG I child-PL-ACC so teach-PRS/1SG AUX
'When I worked in school I used to teach the children in this way'

But it's used even if the action has not taken place:

(119) *mon* *ton dorį* *pįri-ško* *val,* *no ton* *gurt-ad* *vįlįmte-jed*
I you to go in-PRS/1SG but you home-IN/2SG NEX/PERF-2SG
'I wanted to visit you, but it seemed that you haven't been at home'

3.1.4 The preterite IV (the so-called iterative preterite) consists of the forms of the future + *val*: *mįno val, mįnod val* etc. It expresses a repeated action in the past. In literary Udmurt only the forms of the 3rd persons are in use (the use of alternative possibilities is preferred: PRET III or iterative derivational suffix + PRET I).

(120) *anaj-ez* *veś* *ožį vetl-o-z* *val*
mother-3SG always so go-FUT-3SG AUX/PRET
'His mother was always going in this way'

3.2 **Pluperfect I-II**

3.2.1 The pluperfect I is formed with the forms of the preterite I + *val* like *mįni val, mįnid val* etc. It corresponds semantically to the preterite I but refers to an earlier time.

3.2.2 The pluperfect II follows the pattern of the preterite II, but additionally has *val* (*mįn-em-e vań val* 'I had gone', Nasibullin 1984: 40). There is an alternative possibility (Kel'makov/ Hännikäinen 1999: 245) without *vań* and in the 1SG and 3SG without marking person:

1 SG	*mįn-em val*	*uža-m val*
2 SG	*mįn-em-ed val*	*uža-m-ed val*
3 SG	*min-em val*	*uža-m val*
1 PL	*mįn-em-mį val*	*uža-m-mį val*
2 PL	*mįn-em-dį val*	*uža-m-dį val*
3 PL	*mįn-em-zį val*	*uža-m-zį val*

Semantically it is the resultative counterpart of the preterite II referring to an earlier time. In contrast to the forms of the preterite and the pluperfect hitherto treated the pluperfect II can express evidential nuances depending on the context (Alatyrev 1983: 578); in this case it is replaceable by forms of the pluperfect + *vįlem*.

Overview over the tense-aspect-aktionsart-complex

Tense:	Present	Future	Preterite				Pluperfect	
			I	II	III	IV	I	II
Aspect/Akt.:		indifferent	indifferent	perfective	durative	iterative	indifferent	perfective
Formation	synth.	synth.	synth.	analyt.	analyt.	analyt.	analyt.	analyt.
Marker:	*-šk-*	*-o-*	*-i-*	nomin./*vań*	*-šk-/val*	*-o-/val*	*-i-/val*	nomin./*val*

For the derivative possibilities to express aktionsarts and nuances of aspect see 2.4.4.2, for the analytical possibilities 2.4.5.3.

2.4.2.2 Mood

Udmurt has four moods. Traditional Udmurt grammar operates only with three moods, indicative, imperative and conditional. The category "evidential" is usually classified as a category of tense.

The first three moods are formed synthetically, the evidential only partly so.

These four moods can be divided into two semantically defined groups depending on whether the proposition is real or unreal. In connection with this the category "tense" operates only within the group of the real moods.

2.4.2.2.1 Real moods

1. The **indicative** is morphologically unmarked.

2. Udmurt has lexical and morphological means for expressing the **evidential**. To the first belong *pe* and *vįlem*, to the second the so-called perfect.

2.1 The sc perfect differs from the hitherto treated paradigms of tense, because it is indifferently formed with regard to morphology. Its marker is ***-(e)m-*** (identical with that of the participle, 2.4.5.2). Only in the 2SG and 3SG it is added directly to the stem, the personal suffixes (actually PX) are used optionally. In the 1SG and 1PL it is added to the stem + suffix *-šk-*, which is

identical with the present marker (and historically a frequentative); in the 1SG there is no personal suffix. In the 2PL and 3PL another frequentative suffix is added to the stem, *-l'l'a-;* the use of personal markers following the perfect suffix is again optional.

1 SG	*mįn-išk-em*	*uža-šk-em*
2 SG	*mįn-em(-ed)*	*uža-m-(ed)*
3 SG	*min-em(-ez)*	*uža-m-(ez)*
1 PL	*mįn-išk-em-mį*	*uža-šk-em-mį*
2 PL	*mįni-l'l'a-m(-dį)*	*uža-l'l'a-m(-dį)*
3 PL	*mįni-l'l'a-m(-zį)*	*uža-l'l'a-m(-zį)*

As said above, the perfect is traditionally classified as a tense category, because it expresses the completedness, the result of an action. As a rule the use of the perfect is connected with evidential nuances. That means, the existing result suggests an action which has produced this result, but the exact course or development of the action is unclear, because it is always indicated that the speaker was not a witness to the action and he is unsure how this result was exactly caused. Maybe there are some semantic groups of verbs which do not (or not always) receive evidential interpretations (s. Leinonen 2000: 423ff. with regard to the closely related Komi language).

"Evidential" (in the linguistic literature also named "narrative", "indirective", *modus obliquus* etc.) is here meant as a generic term for several nuances (first two examples from Serebrennikov 1960):

a) evidential proper: there is a source having witnessed the action.

(121) *todam lįktiz odig frontoviklen veramez. So jarate vįlem odig nįlez. Soiz, ton šamen, kįl veram. ǯįnį ar no ortčįmte muketse šeďtem.*
'I remembered what a frontline soldier told. It appeared that he had loved a girl. It turned out that he had given her his word. It appeared that after not even a half year (lit. a half year hadn't passed and) he had already found another (girl)'

With this meaning the sc perfect is used especially in stories heard from others and in certain folklore genres like legends or tales.

b) inferential: from the result one can draw conclusions with regard to the action having taken place.

(122) *ǯus vaďsįš jun kort rešetkajo uknojez šeďtiz ... Ažlo tatįn kladovka vįlem, šędske*
'Opposite the plank bed he found by trying a window with a solid iron grille ... It seems, that this here must earlier have been a little room'

c) mirative: the result is unexpected, contradicts the expectation.

(123) *vot veď* *kįče* *ton* *aďami* *vįlem-ed*
(Russ. particles) such you man see 5.2 (+ 2SG)
'Well, well, such a man you are!'

2.2 ***vįlem*** is the PART PERF of the existential verb and has the same semantic nuances as the sc perfect (based on the PART PERF as well) and here too the modal is the primary. *vįlem* functions as an evidentializer based on the completed action.

2.2.1 Verbal forms of the sc perfect + following *vįlem* mark the evidential referring to an earlier time. These forms are partly synonymous to those of the pluperfect II.

2.2.2 With the help of *vįlem* and in connection with forms of the present, future and preterite I more evidential forms of the past can be formed (that means the evidential counterparts to the tenses formed with *val*). There is no common opinion in the linguistic literature about the subtle meanings of these forms and besides the whole system is apparently not very stable, which is indicated by for example the mutual replaceability (for example in the case of the two paradigms for referring to an earlier time).

2.2.3 *vįlem* appears in connection with IMP 2SG/PL too: *vįlem* changes direct demands into quasi-indirect ones and thereby weakens them:

(124) *lešťį* *vįlem*
make(-IMP/2SG)
'(Please) do it'

2.3 ***pe*** "signifies that the content of a proposition represents another linguistic act: a citation or general hearsay" (Leinonen 2000: 420). Because *pe* indicates the source of the evidence, it can appear in connection with every tense form (even future and present), even with the sc perfect and forms with *vįlem* specifying the unspecified evidential meaning of these forms.

2.4.2.2.2 Irreal moods

3. The paradigm of the **imperative** is incomplete: There are only the forms of the 2nd and 3rd persons. The 2SG of the *a*-stems ends in this *a*, of the *į*-stems in *į* only, if this vowel is preceded by two (or more) consonants, otherwise the form is identical with the shorter stem. In the 2PL the *a*-stems get the suffix *-le*, the *į*-stems *-e*; in analogy to the *a*-stems the suffix *-le* is also used for the *į*-stems. Deviating from most other verbal forms, the imperatives bear the main accent on the first syllable; in the syntagmas of the 3rd persons, formed with the particle *med* + the corresponding forms of the future tense, the particle receives the accent.

Examples (*lįktį-nį* 'to come'):

2 SG	*mįn*	*lįktį*	*uža*
3 SG	*med mįn-o-z*	*med lįkt-o-z*	*med uža-lo-z*
2 PL	*mįn-e(-le)*	*lįkt-e(-le)*	*uža-le*
3 PL	*med mįn-o-zį*	*med lįkt-o-zį*	*med uža-lo-zį*

For the 1PL the corresponding form of the future tense is used, to which occasionally the *-e* of the IMP 2PL is added: *mįn-o-m*(-e) 'let's go'.

The illocutionary force of the imperatives can be increased by putting in front *ojdo* resp. PL *ojdole*[9] (with the accent on the first syllable, too) and weakened by following *val*. For IMP + *vįlem* see below.

4. The marker of the **conditional** mood is *-sal-* added to the stem. The personal suffixes are used in the SG only optionally.

1 SG	*mįnį-sal*	*uža-sal*
2 SG	*mįnį-sal(-įd)*	*uža-sal(-įd)*
3 SG	*minį-sal(-įz)*	*uža-sal(-įz)*
1 PL	*mįnį-sal-mį*	*uža-sal-mį*
2 PL	*mįnį-sal-dį*	*uža-sal-dį*
3 PL	*mįnį-sal-zį*	*uža-sal-zį*

The tense reference includes the past, too: 'I would go ~ I would have gone', though there is a separate analytic formation of the past conditional, as well (Grammatika, II: 121), namely + *val* (like 1SG *mon mįnisal val* etc.).

2.4.2.2.3 Modal constructions

Udmurt has a number of constructions expressing modal functions, which are formed according to a fixed syntactic pattern.

1. Personal constructions:

With the structure finite verb (in present or synthetically formed past tenses) + *luoz* (FUT 3SG of 'to get, become' (similar to the structure finite verb + *vįlem*) one can express the probability of the predication. But this *luoz* gives only a modal, not a temporal nuance (FUT!) to the whole expression:

(125) *ton tunne žaď-i-d* *lu-o-z*
you today tire-PRET-2SG get, become-FUT-3SG
'You are probably tired today'

2. Impersonal constructions:

2.1 Agent/DAT + particle or modal verb/3SG (+ tense or mood) + main verb/INF (like in Russian): *kule* 'necessary', *jara* 'may' and *lue* 'can':

(126) *so-lį* *tros* *uža-ni* *kule*
he/she-DAT a lot work-INF necessary (cannot be inflected)
'He has to work a lot'

[9] Corresponding to Russian *davaj* resp. *davajte*.

(127) *mįn-įm* *pįrį-nį* *jara-a?*
I-DAT come in-INF may-IC
'May I come in?'

2.2 Main verb in PART PERF + PX (= agent; if this must be expressed explicitly, it stands in the GEN because of its referring to PX) + *luįnį* 'can' or *potįnį* 'leave'/3SG (+ tense or mood):

(128) *(mįn-am)* *ši-jem-e* *pot-e*
I-GEN eat-PART-1SG want-PRS/3SG
'I want/would like to eat'

2.4.3 Negation

In Udmurt the sentence negation is expressed mostly with the help of a negative verb which is always marked for person/number, only partly for tense. The main verb is always infinite (no agreement with regard to person, but the negative forms of SG are different from those of PL), but has its marker in the present. The prohibitive has its own forms. Deviating are:

1) Conditional: conjugated main verb + negative particle

2) Sc perfect: negation is marked with the help of an own (derivative) suffix.

Most of the negative verbal phrases show a different stress pattern, see 1.4.

	present		future		preterite I	
	į-stem	*a*-stem				
1 SG	*ug mįni-šk-į*	*ug uža-šk-į*	*ug mįn-į*	*ug uža*	*ęj mįn-į*	*ęj uža*
2 SG	*ud mįni-šk-į*	*ud uža-šk-į*	*ud mįn-į*	*ud uža*	*ęd mįn-į*	*ęd uža*
3 SG	*ug min(-i)*	*ug uža*	*uz min-į*	*uz uža*	*ęz min-į*	*ęz uža*
1 PL	*um mįni-šk-e*	*um uža-šk-e*	*um mįn-e*	*um uža-le*	*ęm mįn-e*	*ęm uža-le*
2 PL	*ud mįni-šk-e*	*ud uža-šk-e*	*ud mįn-e*	*ud uža-le*	*ęd mįn-e*	*ęd uža-le*
3 PL	*ug mįn-o*	*ug uža-lo*	*uz mįn-e*	*uz uža-le*	*ęz mįn-e*	*ęz uža-le*

In the plural of the future and preterite tense *-le* (instead of only *-e*) is also used in the *į*-stems (like *ęm mįnele*). In the singular of the same tenses the variant without *-į* (after simple consonant or vowel) is in use (like *mon ug mįn* etc.).

With regard to the personal suffixes the present paradigm is more syncretistic than that of the preterite, still distinguishing 1SG and 3SG. On the one hand the negative verb has by and large the same shape in the present and the future, on the other hand the negative form of the main verb is identical in the future and the preterite.

For negation of the analytically formed tenses, *ęvęl* (instead of *vań*) is used (a) or the above mentioned negation patterns are combined with *val* (b). In the nominal pluperfect II a negative counterpart to the participle suffix, *-mte* (instead of *-(e)m*) is used.

(a) preterite II: 1SG (*mįnam*) *mįn-em-e/uža-m-e ęvęl* etc.

(b) preterite III: 1SG (*mon*) *ug mi̯n-iśk-i̯ val* etc.
preterite IV: 1SG (*mon*) *ug mi̯n-i̯ val* etc.
pluperfect I: 1SG (*mon*) *e̯j mi̯n-i̯ val* etc.
(c) pluperfect II: 1SG (*mon*) *mi̯ni̯-mte-je val*, 2SG (*ton*) *mi̯ni̯-mte-jed val*, 3SG (*so*) *mi̯ni̯-mte val* etc..

The negative imperative (= prohibitive) has own means, namely the particles *en* for the second and *medaz* for the third persons (both with the main stress within the verbal syntagm, 1.4.):

imperative:	2 SG	*en mi̯n(-i̯)*	*en li̯kt-i̯*	*en uža*
	3 SG	*medaz mi̯n-(i̯)*	*medaz li̯kt-i̯*	*medaz uža*
	2 PL	*en mi̯n-e(-le)*	*en li̯kt-e(-le)*	*en uža-le*
	3 PL	*medaz mi̯n-e(-le)*	*medaz li̯kt-e(-le)*	*medaz uža-le*

In the conditional the main verb is conjugated like in the affirmative paradigm and the negative verb of the 3SG PRET is used for the whole paradigm - here the opposite principle.

conditional:	1 SG	*e̯j mi̯ni̯-sal*	1 PL	*e̯j mi̯ni̯-sal-mi̯*
	2 SG	*e̯j mi̯ni̯-sal(-i̯d)*	2 PL	*e̯j mi̯ni̯-sal-di̯*
	3 SG	*e̯j mini̯-sal(-i̯z)*	3 PL	*e̯j mi̯ni̯-sal-zi̯*

The sc perfect has two variants of negation: either *e̯ve̯l* + affirmative form or above mentioned negative participle suffix which is added to suffixed stems used in the affirmative forms:

sc perfect:	1 SG	*mi̯ni-śki̯-mte-je*	1 PL	*mi̯ni-śki̯-mte-mi̯*
	2 SG	*mi̯ni̯-mte-jed*	2 PL	*mi̯ni-l'l'a-mte-di̯*
	3 SG	*mi̯ni̯-mte-jez*	3 PL	*mi̯ni-l'l'a-mte-zi̯*

The other negative evidential paradigms + *vi̯lem* are formed *mutatis mutandis*.

The negation of separate constituents is marked in the same way, but can be made more clear by word order or morphological means:

(129) *ńań* *mon* *e̯-j* *śii̯*
bread(-ACC) I NV/PRET-1SG eat(-NF/PRET)
'I didn't eat any bread'

(130) *mon* *u-g* *śii-śki̯* *ńań-ez*
I NV/PRS-1SG eat-NF/PRS bread-ACC
'I do not eat that bread'

(131) *nenokin no* *gurt-i̯n* *e̯ve̯l*
nobody house-IN NEX
'Nobody is at home'.

2.4.4 Verbal categorizers

2.4.4.1 Verbalizers

Verbs are derived from adjectives and nouns by means of derivational suffixes. Some of the most important are:

a) *-i̯-*, for example *zori̯ni̯* 'to rain' (*zor* 'rain'), *keńeši̯ni̯* 'to talk, discuss' (*keńeš* 'meeting') etc.
b) *-a-*, *adresani̯* 'to address' (*adres* 'Address'), *vuzani̯* 'to sell' (*vuz* 'goods') etc.
c) *-mi̯/ma-*, *pereśmani̯* 'to get older' (*pereś* 'old'), *ǯi̯tmi̯ni̯* 'to be getting late' (*ǯi̯t* 'evening');
d) *-di̯-*, *vi̯l'di̯ni̯* 'renew' (*vi̯l'* 'new');
e) *-ǯi̯-*, *i̯l'ǯi̯ni̯* 'to decay, rot' (*i̯l'* 'damp');
f) *-ji̯/ja-*, *pusji̯ni̯* 'to mark' (*pus* 'mark, sign');
g) *-ti̯-*, *goždi̯ni̯* 'write' (*gož* 'line') etc.

2.4.4.2 Aktionsart/Aspect

Udmurt has a number of suffixes (partly identical with verbalizers) marking a resultative/perfective vs irresultative/imperfective action or momentary/punctual vs frequentative/iterative action. Some examples: *lobani̯* 'fly' (habitual, not in one direction, russ. *лететь*) vs *lobi̯ni̯* (punctual, in one direction, russ. *лететь*); *baśti̯ni̯* 'take' (resultative) vs *baśjani̯* (irresultative). The number of pairs of this kind is limited, that means the suffixes are not productive (for an overview see Serebrennikov 1960: 140 and Alatyrev 1983: 582); besides see 2.4.5.3.

On the other hand there are two very productive derivational suffixes for forming iterative/frequentative, durative and momentary verbs, namely ***-li̯-*** (*i̯*-stems) and ***-l'l'a-*** (*a*-stems), for example *lobal'l'ani̯* 'fly often' (not in one direction), *gi̯ri̯li̯ni̯* 'plough regularly (irresultative)' resp. 'plough some places here and now' to *gi̯ri̯ni̯* 'plough (irresultative)'.

2.4.4.3 Valence-changing affixes

Udmurt has two very productive suffixes, ***-(i)śki̯-*** (also *-ski̯-*) for forming reflexives and ***-ti̯-*** for causatives.

a) Reflexive verbs: transitive verbs lose one complement by deriving with this suffix, like *di̯šetskini̯* 'learn' (from *di̯šeti̯ni̯* 'teach'), *dišaśki̯ni̯* 'get dressed' (from *dišani* 'dress)', *veraśki̯-ni̯* 'talk' (from *verani̯* 'say') etc.

Following the Russian pattern one can use such derivated verbs in the 3rd persons with a passive nuance:

(132) *ta* *busi̯* *tabere* *traktor-en* *gi̯ri-śk-e*
DEM field(-NOM) now tractor-INSTR plough-REFL-PRS/3SG
'This field is ploughed by the tractor now'

b) Causative verbs: transitive and intransitive verbs receive one complement more if they are derived by means of this suffix:

(133) *mon* *gožtet* *gožti-śko*
I letter(-ACC) write-PRS/1SG
'I wrote a letter'

(134) *mon* *so-je* *gožtet* *gožtį-ti-śko*
I her/she-ACC letter(-ACC) write-CAUS-PRS/1SG
'I let him write a letter'

2.4.4.4 *Fiktivnost*

Udmurt has a derivational suffix marking primarily that the action expressed by the verb does not really take place, but only seems to. The suffix *-mjaśkį-* (*-emjaśkį-* in the - shorter - *į*-stems) is compounded: *-m-* = PART PERF (used in the sc perfect/evidential too, see 2.4.2.2), *-ja-* is historically identical with the suffix of ADVL and the last part *-śkį-* = just mentioned REFL. Examples: *gįr-emjaśkįnį* 'pretend ploughing', *uža-mjaśkįnį* 'pretend working'.[10] Depending on the meaning of the verb (and perhaps on the context) this suffix can even mark that the action in question takes place only on a small scale: *zor-emjaśkįnį* ('pretend to rain' =) 'rain a little bit'. There is a negative counterpart of this suffix, *-mte-jaśkįnį*: *vala-mte-jaśkįnį* 'pretend not understand', which can also mean 'not pretend to understand'.

Even to already derived verbs this suffix can be added and this complex for its part can be derived further, *lįdžį-lį-t-emjaśkį-l-įnį* (read-FREQ-CAUS-FIKT-FREQ-INF) 'often pretend that someone lets someone read often'.

2.4.4.5 Borrowings

Verbs borrowed from Russian are not declined very often, but receive the autochtonous Udmurt verb *karįnį* 'to do' as an accompanying verbal element, which follows the original Russian verb (in INF) and is conjugated: Russian *štrafovať* 'to fine', Udmurt *štrafovať karįnį* 'to fine', PRS 1SG *mon štrafovať kariśko* 'I fine' (if the Russian verb is a reflexive one [*-sja*], then the reflexive variant of this Udmurt verb is used, too: *kariśkįnį*).

2.4.5 Verbal modifiers

2.4.5.1 Infinitive

The infinitive is formed with ***-nį*** in both stems and is morphologically unchangeable.

Depending on the verb of the higher sentence, the infinitive can function as a subject,

(135) *dįšetskį-nį* *noku* *ber* *ęvęl*
learn-INF never late NEX
'It's never too late to learn'

[10] There are alternative periphrastic expressions: *uža-m karįnį* ('make') or *luįnį* ('be, get, become, can').

as an object,

(136) *mon* *lįdžiśkį-nį jarati-śko*
I read-INF like-PRS/1SG
'I like reading'

as an adjunct,

(137) *kolchoznik-jos* *turna-ni* *mįn-i-zį*
kolkhoznik-PL mow-INF go-PRET-3PL
'The kolkhozniks went mowing'

and as an attribute:

(138) *eš-e-len* *uža-nį* *mįlkįd-įz* *ęj* *val*
friend-1SG-GEN work-INF mood-3SG NEX/PRET
'My friend was not in the mood to work'

The nominal character of the infinitive becomes evident, when it appears in connection with a postposition (only *ponna* and *vįlįś* 'for'):

(139) *ta* *ḱniga-jez* *lįdžį-nį* *vįlįś* *til'ed-lį* *čekti-śko*
DEM book-ACC read-INF for you-DAT suggest-PRS/1SG
'I suggest you read this book'

(140) *fil'm-ez* *adžį-nį* *ponna* *lįkt-ono* *kariśk-i*
film-ACC watch-INF for come-PART decide-PRET/1SG
'I decided to come to watch the film'

2.4.5.2 Participles

Udmurt has four participles that do not have a term of their own, but can be quite adequately expressed by PRS ACT, PRS PASS and PERF ACT/PASS; the fourth serves for expressing potentiality. All function both as attributes and predicates (with regard to agreement like adjectives, see 2.3.4).

1. The participle ending in ***-ś*** corresponds to PART PRS ACT: *mįni-ś* 'going' (to *mįnįnį* 'go'), *vera-ś* 'saying' (*vera-nį* 'say'). As a predicate this participle is inflected for number.

Besides there are cases of nominalizing like *dįšeti-ś* 'teacher' (*dįšetįnį* 'teach') or *uža-ś* 'worker' (*užani* 'work') and these cases are declined like other nouns.

The combination of this participle + finite form of the verb *luįnį* replaces the corresponding finite form of the main verb without any additional meaning: *lįktiś luoz* = *lįktoz* 'he will come'. The negative form is *-ś-tem* like *lįdžiśtem* 'not reading'.

2. The participle with ***-em*** (*į*-stems) resp. ***-m*** (*a*-stems) corresponds to a PART PERFECT/PASS, depending on the context and/or transitivity/non-transitivity of the verb. It always marks the perfectiveness of the expressed action. Examples: *lįktem* 'arrived', *lįdžem* 'read'. In case of the passive attributive use the agent appears in the GEN or ABL:

(141) *so-len/so-leś* *lịdʒ́-em* *kńiga*
he/she-GEN/ABL read-PART book
'the book read by him/her'

(142) *so* *lịkt-em*
he/she come-PART
'He/she has (obviously) come'[11]

(143) *so ber* *kịl'-em-ed* *kaď*
he late stay-PART-2SG as if
'He probably came late'

Besides there are cases of nominalizing, like *uža-m* 'work' or *kul-em* 'death' and the participle is part of periphrastically formed tense and mood forms (see 2.4.2.1 and 2).

The negative counterpart is *-mte*: *lịdʒ́ị-mte* 'unread'.

This participle even appears declined, either in the INSTR resp EL (see below, 2.4.5.3, 5) or in the IN: *-(e)m-ịn,* negative + *ẹvẹl*. It functions as a predicate and particularly emphasizes the resultative character of the action expressed by the verb.

(144) *śures* *tupat-em-ịn* *ẹvẹl*
path(-NOM) repair-PART-IN NEX
'The path is not repaired'

(145) *dịšetiś* *lịkt-em-ịn*
teacher(-NOM) come-PART-IN
'The teacher has arrived'

3. The participle with ***-ono*** (*ị*-stems) resp. ***-no*** (*a*-stems) corresponds to a PART PRS PASS rendering the necessity of carrying out an action: *lịdʒ́-ono kńiga* 'the book which must be read'. The agent appears in the GEN, when the participle functions as an attribute

(146) *so-len* *lịdʒ́-ono* *kńiga*
he/she-GEN read-PART book
'The book which must be read by him/her'

and in DAT, when it is a predicate:

(147) *mịnịm gurt-e* *mịn-ono*
I-DAT house-ILL go-PART
'I must go home' (lit. 'to me must be gone home')

Marking the agent by PX is possible as well: *gurte mịnono-e*.

Negative: *-ontem* resp. *-ntem* as an attribute, the affirmative form + *ẹvẹl* as a predicate.

[11] This form of the PART is identical with the 3SG of the sc PERF having evidential meaning.

4. The participle with ***-mon*** marks the potentiality of the action expressed by the verb: *lịdʒ́ị-mon kńiga* 'a book which can be read', *gažamon aďami* 'a respectable man' or:

(148) *turịn* *turna-mon*
grass(-NOM) cut-PART
'The grass can be cut' ('is in such a condition that ... ')

As a predicate it shows agreement with regard to number: *kńiga-os lịdʒ́ị-mon-eś* 'books which can be read'. In this function *ẹvẹl* is used for negation.

2.4.5.3 Gerunds

Udmurt has five resp. six gerunds (one of them is identical with a participle, another two are inflected participles). The gerunds function as verbal adverbs, serves for subordinating clauses or are part of a converb structure. All the suffixes are added to the stem with the vowel (*-ị* resp *-a*).

1. The gerund with ***-sa***, negative ***-tek*** functions both as an adverb of manner and temporal relations (simultaneity and anteriority)

(149) *so* *kịrʒ́a-sa* *porja-z*
he/she sing-GER talk a walk-PRET/3SG
'He/she walked singing'

(150) *so* *vuž* *kịrʒ́a-n-jos-tị* *kịrʒ́a-sa* *porja-z*
he/she old sing-NOMIN-PL-ACC sing-GER talk a walk-PRET/3SG
'He/she walked singing old songs'

(151) *dịrtị-tek* *lịdʒ́-e*
'to hurry-GER read-PRS/3SG
'He/she is reading without hurry'

(152) *Kima,* *korka* *pịrị-sa,* *ʒẹk* *śẹrị* *pukś-i-z*
PN house (-ILL) go in-GER table behind sit down-PRET-3SG
'Having gone into the house Kima sat down at the table'

(153) *Ondi* *gurt-e* *bertị-sa,* *mon* *so-lị* *ukśo* *śot-i-z*
PN house-ILL come-GER I he-DAT money(-ACC) give-PRET-3SG
'When Ondi came home, I gave him the money'

In connection with the following particles *no* or *vịlịś* this gerund can even function as a concessive adverb.

Whereas in these just mentioned cases the meaning of **both** verbs becomes evident, the two actions entering a certain relation, there are structures formed by this gerund and a limited group of verbs expressing only one action. The meaning of the verb in the gerund is modified by the

meaning of the finite verb in the sense of aktionsarts[12]: The modifying verb bears the grammatical information, whereas the modified verb remains uninflected (except for GER) and functions only as the bearer of the lexical meaning. The border between these two types of verbal structures containing a gerund can not always be exactly determined, especially if both verbs belong the same semantic area (in this case, of course, the verbs in question do not have the modifying functions of the kind mentioned below). There are different opinions with regard to the question of which verbs belong to the group of modifiers: at least the below mentioned are undisputed.

One can distinguish the following aktionsarts marked by the following verbs:

1. Non-transformative aktionsart, that means an action is lasting, in process, and there is no clear direction or aim in or to which the action will be continued: *uliṇi* 'live, be' (the most frequent of this group, probably because of its vague meaning), *pukiṇi* 'sit', *kiľľiṇi* 'lie' and *vetliṇi* 'go'. Semantically, the action they express is undirected (even *vetliṇi*, russ. *ходить*). Examples: *viśi-sa uliṇi* 'to live in permanent ill condition' (*viśiṇi* 'be ill'), *žugíśki-sa kiľľiṇi* 'fight (often, constantly)' (*žugiśkiṇi* 'fight'), *ćirdi-sa pukiṇi* 'be engaged in singing' (*ćirdiṇi* 'sing').

2. Initial-transformative aktionsart, that means the beginning of an action: *koškiṇi* 'leave' (the most frequently appearing verb in such structures), *leźiṇi* 'let' and *keľtiṇi* 'leave (behind)': Examples: *kiržźa-sa leźiṇi* 'begin to sing' (*kiržźaniṇ* 'sing'), *kiška-sa koškiṇi* 'to become frightened' (*kiškaniṇ* 'be frightened'), *poti-sa koškiṇi* 'to go outside' (*potiṇi* 'leave').

3. Final-transformative aktionsart, that means a part of an action comes to an end (but the whole action is continued): *vuiṇi* 'come, ripen', *vuttiṇi* 'deliver', *bidtiṇi* 'end, finish', *baśtiṇi* 'take, buy', *śotiṇi* 'give', *poniṇi* 'put, place, set', *kuśtiṇi* 'throw': *gožti-sa vuttiṇi* 'complete the writing' (*gožtiṇi* 'write'), *iźi-sa vuiṇi* 'have a good night's sleep' (*iźiṇi* 'sleep'), *vaji-sa kuśtiṇi* 'bring over' (*vajiṇi* 'bring').

Depending on the meaning of the modified verb, secondary nuances can come to the fore. Udmurt has probably borrowed the pattern for those constructions from Tatar.

2. Gerunds with ***-ku***[13] have the function of temporal adverbs or adverbal clauses (simultaneity). To this gerund a PX (with exceptional *-m* in the 1SG) can be added.

[12] In the literature one can find different opinions about the function of these constructions. See Schönig (1984: 13ff.) for an overview and for arguments in favour of the opinion that they mark aktionsarts.

[13] The ending *-u* is unique; cf.1.1.

(154) *mon* *so-je* *bakča-je* *miṇi-ku(-m)* *adź-i*
I he/she-ACC garden-ILL go-GER(-1SG) see-PRET/1SG
'Going into my garden I saw him/her'

(155) *(mon)* *gurt-e* *berti-ku(-m),* *dišetiś-m-e* *pumita-j*
(I) house-ILL come-GER(-1SG) teacher-1SG-ACC meet-PRET/1SG
'Arriving at home I met my teacher'

3. Gerunds with ***-toź*** mark the temporal frame or limit of an action expressed by the finite verb. To this gerund, too, a PX (with *-a* as the connecting vowel) can be added.

(156) *ńulesk-i* *vui-toź* *kiržźa-mi*
forest-ILL come-GER sing-PRET/1PL
'We sang until we came into the forest'

(157) *žadi-toź-az* *biźi-z*
become tired-GER-3SG run-PRET-3SG
'He ran until he became tired'

4. As already mentioned, the participle with ***-mon*** appears as a gerund with the same meaning:

(158) *vala-mon* *vera-śki-z*
understand-GER speak-PRET/3SG
'He spoke comprehensibly'

5. The inflected participles with *-m* - EL ***-(e)m-iś***, negative ***-mteis***, and INSTR ***-(e)m-en***, negative ***-mtejen*** function as a causal adverbs or adverbal clauses. Addition of a PX is possible in this case, too, (connecting vowel is *-i-*, EL *-ti-*).

(159) *viśe-m-en-im* *ta* *už-ez* *e-j* *leśti*
be ill-PART-INSTR-1SG DEM work-ACC NV/PRET-1SG do (-NF)
'Because of my illness I didn't do this work'

In connection with verbs meaning 'finish' (see 2.3.1.2, 12) the action which must be finished can be expressed with this gerund in EL: *kopa-miś dugd-i-z* 'he finished digging'.

2.5 Other grammatical classes

The remaining parts of speech form a morphologically heterogeneous group. One small part shows a very restricted inflection, the greater part does not. With regard to word formation they are different as well: simple lexemes (which are used for the formation of other parts of speech, like *olo* 'perhaps', *ke* 'if', inflected pronouns or lexemes based on a pronoun (like *soin* 'therefore', INSTR of *so* 'he, she, that', *sobere* 'then', lit. 'after that'), inflected nouns (like *bere* 'after', ILL of *ber* 'back side', *dirja* 'during', ADVL of *dir* 'time') or inflected verbs (like *šuisa* 'that (conj.)', GER of *šuiṇi* 'say') etc.

This group can be divided in subgroups with the help of syntacto-semantical criteria. This classification implies that a lexeme can belong to different groups, depending on the position in the clause. Baušev (1929: 36) mentions, for example: *mi̯n al'i* 'go on!' (*al'i* here modal particle) vs *al'i mi̯n* 'go now!' (*al'i* here adverb of time). But there are cases in which a lexeme has different functions in the same position and one can decipher the meaning only with the help of the context (examples from Baušev):

(160) *ti̯n-ad* *pi̯ra-m-ed* *bere,* *kuno* *vu-i-z* *na*
you-GEN go in-PART-2SG after/POSTP guest come-PRET-3SG yet
Lit.: 'After your gone in, guests came yet'
'After you had come in, there arrived still guests'

(161) *ton* *vetli-ško-d* *bere,* *mon no* *mi̯n-o*
you go-PRS-2SG when/CONJ I too go-FUT/1SG
'When you go, I'll go too'

2.5.1 Postpositions

The postpositions govern constituents in the NOM, very few exceptions the DAT, INSTR or ABL (see 2.3.1.2).

The greater part of the postpositions can be inflected for case and possession. Apart from exceptions like *di̯r-ja* 'during' with the ADVL case inflection is limited to the seven local cases, similar to the spatial adverbs, but not all postpositions which can be inflected actually appear inflected in all these seven cases. The case suffixes are identical with those of the nouns (see 2.3.1.2): (IN) *ǯe̯k ul-i̯n* 'below the table', (ILL) *ǯe̯k ul-e* 'under the table', (EL) *ǯe̯k ul-i̯ś* 'from under the table' etc. For the use of PX in postpositional syntagms see 2.3.1.3.

Some postpositions function as an adverb, like *uli̯n* 'down'.

2.5.2 Prepositions

In Udmurt the the prepositions are not old and their number very restricted. There are only three, *bi̯den, koti̯r* 'per, one by one' and *og* 'about', and they demand the NOM.

2.5.3 Particles

The particles can be divided in subgroups regarding their functions, their positional features (some of them are placed after the corresponding constituent) and the question whether they appear independently or not.

a) Degree particles: they are focus-binding and their semantic function is scaling (up or down) or quantifying. For example *čapak, samoj* 'just', *gine* 'only' (always following), *ke no* (following) 'at least', *no* 'too' (following), *ik* 'even' (following), *(i)ńi* 'already' (following), *na* 'still, yet' (following), *tuž* 'very', *-ges* (added to nouns) 'just' etc.

b) Modal particles modify the illocutionary force of the sentence and their use is mostly sentence-type-sensitive, for example *ben* 'surely not (in yes/no interrogative sentences)', *šat* and *meda* ('really?') intensifying the interrogative character, *ik* 'actually (in narrative sentences)', *val* weakening the illocutionary force of imperative sentences, *ojdo* (following) giving an encouraging nuance to the illocutionary force of imperative sentences, etc.

c) Sentence/epistemic and attitudinal adverbials expressing the speaker's attitude to the content of the sentence: *olo, leša* 'perhaps, probably', *di̯r* 'probably', *pe* 'they say', *kaď* 'it seems' etc.

d) Indicators of the sentence type: the enclitics *-a, -te* indicate a yes/no interrogative sentence.

e) Others: *ben, o-o* 'yes', *ǥve̯l* 'no'; *tani* 'there, here' (russ. *vot*), *uť* 'behold!', *iške* 'so' etc.

2.5.4 Conjunctions

In the Uralic (or Finno-Ugric) languages conjunctions are of late origin (there are none which can be reconstructed for the proto-language). Borrowings and calques are not rare. The number of conjunctions is not great.

There are no clear syntactic criteria for distinguishing coordinative and subordinative conjunctions, but only semantic ones.

1) The most important coordinative conjunctions are: *no* 'and, also', *sobere* 'then', *soin ik* 'therefore', *ožį ik* 'also, likewise', *no ... no* 'both ... and', *gine ... no* or *gine ǥve̯l ... no* 'not only ...but also'; *jake* 'or', *jake ... jake* or *olo ... olo* 'either ... or', *noš* 'but', *a* 'but'.

2) The subordinative conjunctions differ from each other with regard to their positional characteristics and to their morphological shape (simple word vs inflected form vs syntagm).

a) sentence-final position: *bere* 'if'; *di̯rja* 'when' (actually ADVL to 'time'); *kaď* 'as if'; *šuį̈sa* '(so) that' (actually 'saying', perhaps Tatar influence); *vi̯lį̈ś* 'although';

b) sentence-final or in the middle after a constituent: *ke* 'if; when'; *ke no* 'although' (actually 'even though'); *gine (no)* 'as soon as';

c) sentence-initial: *ugoš, malį ke šuono* 'because' (lit. 'if why to say').

3. BASIC SYNTAX

3.1 Sentence types

In Udmurt one can distinguish two sentence types, verbal and nominal/copular clauses. The center of the predication is the finite verb in the first, nouns or nominal forms of the verb in the latter cases; to these belong the so-called existential clauses also having an infinite, non-inflectable existential verb as the predicate.

3.1.1 Verbal clauses

The finite verb shows agreement with the grammatical subject, not with the object (Udmurt has no objective conjugation). Formal agreement in person is obligatory, while number agreement may sometimes be based on semantic rather than on formal considerations, for example

(162) *otin* *kišno-jen* *kart-en* *kutsašk-o*
there man-INSTR woman-INSTR thresh-PRES/3PL
'the man and the woman are threshing over there'

3.1.1.1 Intransitive clauses

In the intransitive clause the verb does not take any arguments except for the subject, or it takes oblique object arguments. To these belong arguments in the DAT, ABL and INSTR as well as postpositional syntagms and infinitive structures.

(163) *tol* *vu-i-z*
winter come-PRET-3SG
'winter came'

(164) *so* *soku* *šemja* *šarišš* *e-z* *malpa*
she at that time family(-NOM) about/POSTP NV/PRET-3SG think(-NF)
'At that time she didn't think about the family'

(165) *so* *pužijatski-ni* *dišetsk-e*
she embroider-INF learn-PRES/3SG (+ DAT)
'She is learning to embroider'

3.1.1.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive verbs take at least two arguments: a subject and a direct object. If the direct object is indefinite, it appears in the NOM (= unmarked), if it's definite, in theACC (see 2.3.1.2).

(166) *mon* *ńulesk-in* *val-ez/val* *adž-i*
I(-NOM) forest-IN horse-ACC/0 see-PRET/(1SG)
'I saw the/a horse in the forest'

There are cases of the occurrence of two direct objects in a clause,

(167) *mon* *so-je* *gožtet* *gožti-ti-ško*
I her/she-ACC letter(-ACC) write-CAUS-PRS/1SG
'I let him write a letter'

and, of course, of one direct and one indirect object or other kinds of complement, for example:

(168) *mon* *ač-im* *so-li* *kužim-ez* *šot-i*
I myself-1SG he/she-DAT gift-ACC give-PRET/1SG
'I myself gave him the gift'

3.1.2 Nominal clauses

In Udmurt the following structures have no finite verb:

a) predicative structures in a wider sense and

b) existential clauses (including habeo-structures).

The difference between these two types of nominal clauses is evident in the non-negative PRES: Whereas there is no verbal element in predicative structures at all, the non-inflectable existential verb *vań* occurs in the latter ones. In all other cases the two types behave in the same way: the "verbal" element is the existential verb mentioned, actually a particle, which manifestations are all petrified (NEX, PRET and sc PERF) and do not form a paradigm corresponding to that of other verbs:

a) negative present (= NEX): *ewel* 'there is not';

b) preterite: *val* 'there was' (existential verb as well as a petrified preterite of a former verb 'to be'), negative *val ewel*;

c) sc perfect: *vilem* 'they say, there was', negative *vilimte* resp. *ewel vilem.*

The form of the future tense is a suppletive belonging to a paradigm of a regular verb (*luini* 'be, get/become, can') and behaving like this (with regard to agreement).

The predicative element may be represented by nouns (even declined), adjectives, pronouns, participles, numerals, some adverbs and postpositional phrases:

(169) *so* *udmurt* *(/val)*
he/she Udmurt
'He/she is (/was) an Udmurt'

(170) *ton* *kin?*
you who
'Who are you?'

(171) *ta* *deď i* *Ivan* *Petir-len*
DEM sledge PN PN-GEN
'This sledge belongs to Ivan's Petyr'

(172) *mi Iževsk-ɟn val*
we PN-IN EX/PRET
'We were in Izhevsk'

(173) *ataj-e ton kaď val*
father-1SG you like COP/PRET
'My father was like you'

(174) *kilometr iškem-leš/iškem šarɟš vakčі-ges*
kilometer(-NOM) mile-ABL/(NOM) about short-COMP
'A kilometer is shorter than a mile'

Predicative nouns show agreement with the subject with regard to number:

(175) *gurt-jos badʒɟm-eś*
village-PL large-PL
'The villages are large'

(176) *vań korka-os-sɟ ta-lań-eś*
all house-PL-3PL DEM-APPR-PL
'all houses (are) in this direction'

To the predicative structures belong even those containing a infinite verb (= PART):

(177) *dɟšetiš lɟkt-em-ɟn*
teacher(-NOM) come-PART-IN
'The teacher has come'

(178) *tolon bert-ono val*
yesterday return-PART COP/PRET
'Yesterday they should have come home'

Existential clauses have even in the PRS a kind of verbal form as mentioned above:

(179) *škola gurt-ad vań-a?*
school(-NOM) village-IN/2SG EX/PRS-IC
'Is there a school in your village?'

Habeo-structures replacing the missing verb 'to have' are existential clauses as well:

(180) *so-len kuiń ńɟl-ɟz vań*
he/she-GEN three daughter-3SG EX/PRS
'He/she has three daughters'

3.1.3 Yes/no-interrogative sentences

Yes/no-interrogative sentences can be marked morphologically or merely by intonation. In the first case the clitic *-a, -o* (or *-te*) is attached to the focus of the question, in the latter this is stressed by intonational means. The word order does not differ obligatorily from that of narrative sentences:

(181) *vetl-i-d-a ton bakča-je?*
go-PRET-2SG-IC you garden-ILL
'Did you go to the garden?'

(182) *mɟn-ɟm pɟrɟ-nɟ jara-a?*
I-DAT come in-INF may-IC
'May I come in?'

(183) *ton udmurt-a?*
you(-NOM) PN-IC
'Are you Udmurt?'

3.1.4 Wh-interrogative sentences

The essential feature of these interrogative sentences is the appearing of an interrogative pronoun or adverb (with either *k-* or *m-* in the initial position, for example *kin* 'who' or *mar* 'what'). Neither is the position of this pronoun/adverb strictly determined nor does the word order of the whole sentence differ obligatorily from a non-interrogative sentence:

(184) *kin-len už-ez ęvęl?*
who-GEN work-3SG NEX
'Who has no work?'

(185) *ton kin?*
you who
'Who are you?'

(186) *anaj-ataj mar šu-o-z?*
mother-father what say-FUT-3SG
'What will the parents say?'

The clitic for marking questions can be attached to interrogative pronouns/adverbs, too: *kin-o* 'who?'.

3.1.5. Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences containing the verbal form IMP 2SG/PL are clearly marked by the interaction of the verbal form and the occurring/non-occurring subject. Placing of the IMP at the beginning of the sentence is not obligatory and even the personal pronoun 2SG/PL as subject occurs frequently (in the neutral position at the beginning of the sentence):

(187) *ton so-je en ɟštɟ*
you DEM-ACC NV/IMP lose(-VN/IMP)
'Don't lose it (you)!'

3.2 Simple sentence

3.2.1 Grammatical relations

1) As **subject** a noun (usually in the NOM, rarely in the INSTR) as a rule appears, but it can be lacking depending on the context.

(188) *kị̈šnomurt* *puk-e* *skamja* *vị̈lị̈n*
woman(-NOM) sit-PRS/3SG bench(-NOM) POSTP
'The woman is sitting on the bench'

(189) *otị̈n* *kị̈šno-jen* *kart-en* *kutsaśk-o*
there man-INSTR woman-INSTR thresh-PRES/3PL
'the man and the woman are threshing over there'

As said above the grammatical subject shows agreement with the (finite verbal) predicate.

The infinitive can be in the subject position as well:

(190) *Udmurt* *šamen* *veraškị̈nị̈* *kapči* *ẹvẹl*
PN on speak, talk easy NEX
'It's not easy to speak Udmurt'

Besides there are predicates with a meaning that does not demand the presence of a subject, like *zor-e* 'it is raining' or *pejmịt* 'it is dark': Udmurt has no "place marker subject" (like 'it').

Generic sentences expressing potentiality or necessivity of performing the action have no subject either, their predicate appears in 3SG of corresponding verbs (*luị̈nị̈, jaranị̈* and *bị̈ganị̈* 'can), in PART PRS PASS or as *kule* 'it is necessary'; the logical subject of the latter mentioned structures stands in the DAT.

(191) *so-lị̈* *tros* *uža-nị̈* *kule*
he/she-DAT a lot work-INF necessary (cannot be inflected)
'He has to work a lot'

(192) *mị̈n-ị̈m* *gurt-e* *mị̈n-ono*
I-DAT house-ILL go-PART
'I must go home'

2) As mentioned above (2.3.1.2., 2) in the area of the direct **object** there exists an opposition between definite or indefinite object accompanied by different morphological marking: indefinite/NOM vs definite ACC.

(193) *mon* *ńulesk-ị̈n* *val-ez/val* *adǯ-i*
I(-NOM) forest-IN horse-ACC/0 see-PRET/1SG
'I saw the/a horse in the forest'

The infinitive can function as a direct object, too:

(194) *tros* *medi-śko-mị̈* *lešẗị̈-nị̈*
a lot want-PRS-1PL do-INF
'We want to do a lot'

Indirect objects stand in DAT:

(195) *so* *eš-ez-lị̈* *gožtet* *ị̈st-i-z*
he/she friend-3SG-DAT letter(-ACC) send-PRET-3SG
'He/she sent a letter to his/her friend'

Besides, some verbs demand complements in the ABL, INSTR or EL as well as postpositional syntagms and infinitive structures.

3) **Adjuncts** can be for example: inflected nouns (*korka-n* 'in the house'), uninflected adjectives (= adverbs, like *umoj* 'well'), postpositional syntagmas (like *mi dorị̈n* 'at our home'), adverbs (simple like *jalan* 'always', derived like *čal-ak* 'quietly', partly inflected like *tat-ị̈n* 'here'), infinite verbal forms like

(196) *više-m-en-ị̈m* *ta* *už-ez* *ẹ-j* *lešẗị̈*
be ill-PART-INSTR-1SG DEM work-ACC NV/PRET-1SG do (-NF)
'Because of my illness I didn't do this work'

etc.

3.2.2 Noun phrase

A noun phrase consists of a head and optional modifiers. Besides nouns and pronouns, the above mentioned (2.3.5) nominalized elements can function as a head. Modifiers can be nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, participles and relative clauses. With the exception of the relative clauses introduced by a interrogative/relative pronoun and followed by a finite verb the modifiers precede their head as a rule.

(197) *lị̈z* *kị̈šet* vs (196') *kị̈šet* *lị̈z*
blue shawl shawl blue
'blue shawl' 'The shawl is blue'

The order of the modifiers is the following: pronoun (DEM, but also indefinite or quantitative) - GEN - numeral (only in connection with DEM, not with indefinite/quantitative pronoun) - adjective attribute/participle relative clauses/noun - head.

3.2.2.1 Non-possessive noun phrases

There is no agreement between the modifier(s) - pronouns, numerals, adjectives and participles - and their head except for those with DEF (see 2.3.1.4) and the adjectives with regard to number; cf. 2.3.4 and:

(198) *so* *vit'* *badǯị̈m* *korka-n*
DEM five large house-IN
'in those five large houses'

Nouns as modifiers can appear in uninflected (= NOM) or declined form. If the modifier is uninflected, it expresses the material, like

(199) *zarńi* *zundes*
gold(-NOM) ring(-NOM)
'gold ring, ring of gold'

or the purpose:

(200) *vu* *vedra*
water(-NOM) bucket(-NOM)
'bucket'

Examples of declined nouns in adnominal position:

(201) *pinal-jos-tek* *ulon* *tuž* *mẹzmịt*
child-PL-CAR life(-NOM) very sad
'Life without children is very sad'

(202) *Udmurt* *kịl-ja* *dịšetiś*
Udmurt language-ADVL teacher(-NOM)
'teacher of Udmurt language'

(203) *Ižkar-jś* *universitet*
PN-EL university(-NOM)
'University of Iževsk'

(204) *očki-jen* *piosmurt* *pot-i-z* *korka-ś*
glasses-INSTR man leave-PRET-3SG house-EL
'The man with the glasses came out of the house'

Examples of relative clauses, realized by a participle:

(205) *so-len* *lịdʒ́-ono* *ḱniga-jez*
he/she-GEN read-PART book-DEF
'The book which will be read by him/her'

(206) *kar-jś* *bert-em* *Oleksan*
town-EL return-PART PN
'Oleksan, who returned from the town'

(207) *ẹs* *dorịn* *sịl-iś* *aďami*
door(-NOM) at stand-PART man
'the man who stands at the door'

Postpositional syntagmas as adnominal modifiers always demand a infinite verb: *ẹs dorịn aďami* is either inacceptable or *ẹs dorịn* functions as an adverb of place.

3.2.2.2 Possessive noun phrases

As a rule possessive noun phrases consist of a PX added to the head and a partly obligatory, partly optional constituent in GEN resp. ABL. This constituent is optional, if the reference of the PX is clear (in the 1st and 2nd persons of PX), and then it is used for emphasizing:

(208) *(mịnam)* *pi-je*
I-GEN son-1SG
'my son'

(209) *(mịn-am)* *kịk* *pinal-e* *vań*
I-GEN two child-1SG EX/PRS
'I have two children'

This constituent is obligatory, if the reference marked by the PX is unclear:

(210) *Ondi-len* *nịl-jz*
PN-GEN daughter-3SG
'The daughter of Ondi'

(211) *so-len* *už-ez* *ẹvẹl*
he/she-GEN work-3SG NEX
'He/she has no work'

(212) *pi-je-len* *kịšno-jez-len* *vịn-jz*
son-1SG-GEN wife-3SG-GEN brother-3SG
'The brother of the wife of my son'

The ablative is used if the head itself stands in the accusative resp. function as a direct object:

(213) *so* *kolchoz-leś* *busị-z-e* *vožmat-i-z*
he/she kolkhos-ABL field-3SG-ACC show-PRET-3SG
'He/she showed the field of the kolkhos'

A special case of a possessive noun phrase is the one modified by a undeclined noun (in NOM):

(214) *korka* *ẹs*
house(-NOM) door(-NOM)
'the door of the house, front door'

3.2.3. Verb phrase

In the verbal phrase the position of the finite verbal element is not fixed in the sense that it always appears for example in the last position. The finite element is positioned in front of the infinite in the following cases:

a) in all tenses and moods formed with the infinite elements *val* resp. *vįlem* and *luoz*[14];
b) in negative forms built with a negative verb; exceptions are the negative imperative (if there is any finite element, than the following main verb) and the negative conditional formed with an infinite negative verb.[15] The negative verbs bear the stress of the phrase (like for example some prefixes too).
In all other cases the finite verb stands behind all other parts of the verb phrase.

3.2.4 Word order

In unmarked discourse contexts the word order is SOV. Even if, for example, the object consists of a sentence embedded with or without a conjunction or is realized by an interrogative pronoun, the order is kept in this way. See 3.3.2.1.2 and:

(215) *odig murt so-je kįj leka-z šuį-sa malpa-z*
one man he-ACC snake bite-PRET/3SG that believe-PRET/3SG
'The man believes that the snake has bitten (him)'

(216) *anaj-ataj mar šu-o-z?*
mother-father what say-FUT-3SG
'What will the parents say?'

The position of the object and the adjuncts between the subject and the predicate is relatively free.
This SOV order is even used in non-narrative sentences, but there they do not seem to be unmarked. There are two reasons for deviate word orders:
1. discourse or context conditions and
2. the influence of Russian (especially in contemporary language).
The general rule is that the modifier precedes the modified (see above).

3.3. Complex sentences

3.3.1 Coordination

For the coordinative conjunctions see 2.5.4. Coordinating clauses by conjunctions is the rule, mere juxtaposition seldom appears. Some examples:

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[14] Meant are cases like

(125) *ton tunne žaď-i-d lu-o-z*
you today tire-PRET-2SG get, become-FUT-3SG
'You are probably tired today'

[15] Apart from the question of which element is finite or infinite the negative verbal element is nearly always positioned before the main verb. The only exception is the preterite II (1SG: *mįnam mįn-em-e ęvęl*).

(217) *tol vu-e no, lįmį uš-e*
winter come-PRS/3SG and snow fall-PRS/3SG
'The winter comes and the snow falls'

(218) *Gerej skal kįsk-e, noš Laď'ok pudo vožma*
PN cow(-ACC) milk-PRS/3SG but PN cattle look after (-PRS/3SG)
'Gerej milks the cow, but Lad'ok looks after the lifestock'

(219) *ma karį-nį ę-z todį: olo ǯęk šęrįn ik*
what do NV/PRET-3SG know(-NF) either table behind
puk-ono olo sult-ono
sit-PART or stand-PART
'He did not know, what to do: to sit at the table or stand'

3.3.2. Subordination

One can distinguish three types of subordinative structures:
a) those with a finite verb and a subordinative conjunction resp. relative pronoun,
b) those with a finite verb and without a subordinative conjunction resp. relative pronoun and
c) those with an infinite verbal form and without a conjunction.
Both types without conjunction resp. relative pronoun seem to be the older ones, as is generally the case in the Uralic languages. This is reflected in the relatively small number of subordinative conjunctions, in the possibility of replacing them (especially structures with relative pronouns) by infinite verbal structures and in the fact, that the foreign pattern (Turkic and Russian) of such structures is clearly discernible.
There is no principal difference in word order between an subordinated and a non-subordinated clause.

3.3.2.1 Finite clauses

3.3.2.1.1 Syndeton

The use of finite clauses is always connected with the use of either subordinative conjunctions (2.5.4) or relative pronouns resp. adverbs. The lexemes used as such conjunctions mostly have other functions, too, and the relative pronouns are identical with interrogative pronouns (2.3.2.5). None of them control special syntactical patterns characteristic only of subordinative clauses. That means that the subordinating function of a lexeme can be extracted only from the context or - rarely - from the semantics of the lexem.
As said above (2.5.4) the subordinative conjunctions differ from each other with regard to their positional characteristics and to their morphological shape (simple word vs inflected form vs syntagm). Examples with the most important conjunctions:

(220) *sʲilal* *kišt-i-d* *ke,* *kereton* *lu-o-z*[16]
salt(-ACC) spill-PRET-2SG if quarrel be-FUT-3SG
'If someone spills salt, there will be quarrel'

(221) *šundi* *ǯuža-z* *ke no,* *keǯʲt* *val* *na*
sun rise-PRET/3SG although cold COP/PRET still
'Although the sun had risen, it was still cold'

(222) *pinal-jos* *korka-n* *ɛvɛl* *dʲirja,* *mon* *ńiga* *lʲidʲǯi-śko*
child-PL(-NOM) house-IN NEX while I book(-ACC) read-PRS/1SG
'While the children are not at home, I read a book'

(223) *mon* *Možga-lan vordiśk-i,* *malʲi ke šuono,* *anaj-ataj-e*
I PN-IN be born-PRET/1SG because mother-father-1SG
otʲin *ul-i-zʲi*
there live-PRET-3PL
'I was born in Možga, because my parents lived there'

(224) *kʲiʲem gožtet-am* *mon* *gožt-i* *val,* *pi-jenʲi-m*
last letter-IN/1SG I write-PRET/1SG AUX/PRET son-INSTR-1SG
sanatori-je *vetl-i* *šuʲisa*
sanatorium-ILL go-PRET/1SG
'In my last letter I had written that I went to the sanatorium with my son'

Šuʲisa is also used for all kind of indirect discourses, in reported declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory sentences, for example:

(225) *Pedor* *vera-z,* *so* *vańmʲiz* *šarʲiś* *tod-i-z* *šuʲisa*
PN say-PRET/3SG he all about know-PRET-3SG that
'F. said that he knows about it all'

(226) *so* *jua-z* *čukaže* *lʲikt-o-mʲi-a* *šuʲisa*
he ask-PRET/3SG tomorrow come-FUT-1PL-IC that
'He asked, if we will come tomorrow'

There are cases of merging indirect with direct speech. The first example shows the subject of the embedded clause in the accusative (that means governed by the *verbum dicendi*), in the second the person of the subject is that of the direct speech:

(227) *ti* *mon-e* *čurʲit* *murt* *šuʲisa* *en* *malpa-le*
you I-ACC stingy man that NV/IMP think-NF/2PL
'Don't think that I'm a stingy man'

[16] The typical use of the tenses is: PRET in the conditional clause and FUT in the superordinate clause.

(228) *Vlaďimir* *sʲiče* *kuraškʲi-sa* *as-se* *uli* *kari-śko* *šuʲisa* *malpa-m*
PN such ask-GER self-ACC under do-PRS/1SG that think-PERF/3PL
'Vlad'imir thought that he (lit.: I) humbled himself by asking for it'

In contemporary colloquial speech the use of the Russian as well as the corresponding Udmurt conjunction in one and the same clause does not appear rarely. Either the Russian conjunction is positioned at the beginning and the Udmurt at the end of the clause or the Udmurt follows the Russian directly (depending on the positional feature of the Udmurt conjunction): *čto ... šuʲisa* 'that', *jesli ... ke* 'if', *choťa ... ke no* 'although' etc.

(229) *mon* *todi-śko,* *čto* *so* *lʲikt-o-z* *šuʲisa*
I know-PRS/1SG that he come-FUT-3SG that
'I know that he will come'

Relative clauses:

(230) *ton* *važ* *vala-d,* *kin* *lu-ono* *tʲin-ʲid*
you early understand-PRET/3SG who be-PART you-DAT
'You early have understood, who will be necessary for you'

(231) *verašk-i* *todmo-en-ʲim,* *kud-ze* *uram-ʲin* *pumita-j*
talk-PRET/1SG friend-1SG-INSTR REL-ACC street-IN meet-PRET/1SG
'I talked with my friend, who I met on the street'

šuʲisa can appear in such relative clauses as an additional formal marker for subordination:

(232) *soku* *tod-em* *ińi,* *kin-e* *šot-ono* *šuʲisa*
then know-PERF/3PL already who-ACC give back-PART that
'At this time he already knew, who would be given (as wife)'

3.3.2.1.2 Asyndeton

This kind of subordination is connected with *verba dicendi*. Usually the object of these verbs appears as indirect speech in a subordinate clause with the conjunction *šuʲisa* (s. 3.3.2.1.1). But their object can be a clause of direct speech embedded in the higher sentence without conjunctions. As a rule the clause of the direct speech (as the object) is positioned directly in front of the *verbum dicendi*. The order of the subordinate clause as well as the expression of its subject is the same like in the unembedded case.

(233) *Epifanij* *vańze no* *adʲǯi-śko* *šu-em*
PN all-ACC see-PRS/1SG say-PERF/3SG
'Epifanij said: "I see all"'

(234) *Slavjan-jos* *každoj* *gurt-ʲin* *gurtkužo* *vań* *koža-lo* *vʲilem*
Slav-Pl every house-IN house-spirit EX think-PRET/3PL Evident.
'It is said that the Slaves thought that there is a house-spirit in every house'

A second type indicates the subordination by marking the subject of the embedded direct speech with the accusative suffix, that means one directly governed by the *verbum dicendi*.

(235) *Perun-ez soos urod inmar šui-l'l'am*
PN-ACC they bad god say-PERF/3PL
'They have said that Perun is a bad god'

(236) *mi ton-e bi̯r-i-d koža-m*
we you-ACC be killed-PRET-2SG think-PRET/1PL
'We thought that you were killed'.

3.3.2.2 Infinite clauses

Structures with the following four verbal forms belong to this kind of subordination: (1) infinitive, (2) nouns derived from verbs by the suffix *-on/-n*, (3) participles and (4) gerunds. Their use is not connected with a separate subordinating element.

These four structures serve for different purposes and are only occasionally interchangeable. There is one important difference in the syntactical functions they have: Gerunds are only adverbs of manner, cause and temporal relations (simultaneity and anteriority), present participles only attributes; the other ones appear in all syntactical functions. A second difference exists with regard to subject and time reference between the embedded and the higher sentence: In the case of infinitive structures and present participles reference is identical in both respects, only time reference in the case of the nouns with *-on*. In all other cases time and subject reference varies or can vary. Besides there are differences with regard to semantics and syntactical usability, for example between an infinitive form (indeclinable) and a noun derived by *-on*.

Different time reference can be inherent to the verbal form or expressed by appropriate postpositions. When the subject of the subordinate clause is different from that of the higher one, there are two ways to express it (that does not mean that the possibility to express it in both ways exist for every structure):

1. It is expressed by PX on the infinite verbal form; when the reference has to be clarified by a personal name, a noun etc., it appears additionally and is marked by GEN.

2. The subject occurs as a separate (nominative) constituent like in any non-subordinate clause. Both possibilities can be found, for example, in the case of nouns with *-on*: instead of *jegit-jos pumiś́k-on di̯r-ja* the version *jegit-jos-len* (GEN) *pumiś́k-on-zi̯* (3PL) *di̯r-ja* or *pumiś́k-on-zi̯ di̯r-ja* alone (if the reference is clear) can be used, as well. The second is the only one in structures with a *sa*-gerund.

(1) As mentioned above (2.4.5.1) the **infinitive** structure can function in the higher sentence as subject, object (or complement), adjunct (of purpose) and attribute depending on the governing

verb. It is characteristic of such clauses that their subject reference as well as their time reference does not differ from the higher sentence. For example sentences see 2.4.5.1.

(2) **Nouns** derived from verbs by the suffix ***-on/-n*** can keep their verbal government:

(237) *ki̯l-jos-ti̯ di̯šet-on*
language-PL-ACC teach-NOMIN
'teaching of languages'

Therefore, they can form subordinate structures functioning in the higher sentence as subject, complement, adjunct and attribute. The subject reference in both clauses is not necessarily the same. When the clause serves as an object the nominalized verb receives the case ending resp. the postposition governed by the verb of the higher sentence:

(238) *jegit-jos pumiś́k-on di̯r-ja pereś́ vu-i-z*
youth-Pl meet-NOMIN during old man come-PRET-3SG
'During the meeting of the youths the old man came'

(239) *sajki̯t salki̯m-i̯n pumiś́k-on-mi̯ di̯r-ja pereś́ vu-i-z*
cool shadow-IN meet-NOMIN-1PL during old man come-PRET-3SG
'During our meeting in the cold shadow the old man came'

(240) *malpaś́ki̯ soos-ti̯ ki̯ž́i̯ vošt-on śari̯ś́*
think(-IMP/2SG) they-ACC how change-NOMIN about
'Think about how to change them'

(3) Structures containing a **participle** can have different functions depending on the kind of participle.

a) Subordinate clauses with the participles PRS ACT (*-ś́*) or PRS PASS (*-ono/-no*) operate as an attribute to a constituent of the higher sentence. Time reference is the same as in the higher sentence, but subject reference can be different:

(241) *restoran-i̯n puki-ś́ eš-jos-me adʒ́-i*
restaurant-IN sit-PART friend-PL-1SG-ACC see-PRET/1SG
'I saw my friends sitting in the restaurant'

(242) *mon so-leś́ li̯dʒ́-ono kńiga-z-e adʒ́-i*
I he-ABL read-PART book-3SG-ACC see-PRET/1SG
'I saw the book which must be read by him'

b) Subordinated clauses with participle PERF ACT/PASS are very widespread and they appear in all syntactical functions (subject, object/complement, adjunct of time, cause and manner and attribute). Reference of time and subject can be differ from that of the higher sentence:

(243) *mon so-je gurt-e bert-em-e bere leš-t-o*
I it-ACC home-ILL come-PART-1SG after do-FUT/1SG
'I will do it after coming home'

(244) *mon so-je gurt-e Pedor-len bert-em-ez bere leš-t-i*
I it-ACC home-ILL PN-GEN come-PART-3SG after do-PRET/1SG
'I did it after Fjodor come home'

Instead of *berteme bere* the use of *bertem beram* (IN/1SG) is possible as well. Other temporal relations expressed with this participle but with another postposition are: *dirjś* 'since then', *ažlo* (+ ABL) 'before', *bide* (+ DAT) every time when' and *dirja* 'during'.

(245) *soos intjaśk-i-zi tel jetili-mte intje* (attribute)
they settle down-PRET-3PL wind hit-PART place-ILL
'They settled down at a place, where the wind does not affect (them)'

(246) *Dangir-len šurlo-ze šoti-mte-jez so-li jara-z* (subject)
PN-GEN sickle-ACC give-PART-3SG she-DAT like-PRET/3SG
'She liked it that Dangir didn't give his sickle'

(247) *mon so-len dano učonoj lu-em-ez-li*
I he-GEN well-known scientist become-PART-3SG-DAT
u-g pajmiški (object)
NV/PRS-1SG be surprised(-NF)
'I'm not surprised that he has become a well-known learned'

(4) Clauses containing one of the **gerunds** have the function of an adverb (manner, time, cause or with a concessive meaning) in the higher sentence. The time reference as well as the subject reference can differ from that of the higher sentence. Some examples (for more see 2.4.5.3)

(248) *Kima, korka piri-sa, žek šeri puksś-i-z*
PN house (-ILL) go in-GER table behind sit down-PRET-3SG
'Having gone into the house Kima sat down at the table'

(249) *Ondi gurt-e berti-sa, mon so-li ukšo šot-i*
PN house-ILL come-GER I he-DAT money(-ACC) give-PRET/1SG
'When Ondi came home, I gave him the money'

(250) *(mon) gurt-e berti-ku(-m), dišetiš-m-e pumita-j*
(I) house-ILL come-GER(-1SG) teacher-1SG-ACC meet-PRET/1SG
'Arriving at home I met my teacher'

(251) *žad'i-tož-az bižś-i-z*
become tired-GER-3SG run-PRET-3SG
'He ran until he became tired'

(252) *više-m-en-im ta už-ez ę-j leš-ti*
be ill-PART-INSTR-1SG DEM work-ACC NV/PRET-1SG do (-NF)
'Because of my illness I haven't done this work'

4. SAMPLE TEXT

The following text is a short extract of a play published in the main newspaper of Udmurtia (*Udmurt dunńe*) in November 2000. Thus it is fixed spoken colloquial Udmurt.

1. *Min, min, mon ton-e u-g kutiški.*
go(-IMP/2SG) I you-ACC NV/PRS-1SG catch(-NF)
2. *Užaś-jos-si ton-tek no multes, leša: šu-en,*
worker-PL-3PL you-CAR too superfluous probably hundred-INSTR
šurs-en ul'l'a-lo ińi.
thousand-INSTR drive-PRS/3PL already
3. *Tolon buskel'-jos-mi dori pota-j.*
yesterday neighbour-PL-1PL to visit-PRÄT/1SG
4. *Kužo-zi divan vile leźk-em, pid-jos-s-e*
head of the household-3PL divan on sit down-PERF/3SG leg-PL-3SG-ACC
borddor-ez vile tiri-sa kil'l'-e.
back of the divan-3SG on lay-GER lie-PRS/3SG
5. *Ma lu-i-z, jua-ško?*
what be-PRET-3SG ask-PRS/1SG
6. *Tunne šutetsk-on nunal-ed šat?*
today rest-NOMIN day-3SG really
7. *Bides tolež ta divan vilin kil'l'i-ško ńi, pe,*
whole month this divan on lie-PRS/1SG already they say
cech-mi-len ku uža-ni kutsk-on-ez todmo evel.
department-1PL-GEN when work-INF begin-NOMIN-3SG known NEX
8. *Kin-e gine u-g šiždi!*
who-ACC only NV/PRS-3SG blame(-NF)
9. *Zavod-iś inžeńer-jos bordišen kutski-sa, Moskva-e no vu-e,*
factory-EL engineer-PL from begin-GER PN-ILL too come-PRS/3SG
Kreml'-e no pir-a, deputat-jos-iz vera-n-ez evel ńi.
PN-ILL go in-PRS/3SG deputy-PL-DEF speak-NOMIN-3SG NEX any more

10. *Og-ze, pe, muket-ɟn-ɟz gerʑatek uža-lo.*
the one-ACC they say other-INSTR-DEF connect-GER work-PRS/3PL
11. *Pujijez peľt-o-peľt-o no, ta-iz peľ pɟdsaśkɟ-mon pušt-e.*
bag-ACC blow-PRS/3PL and DEM-DEF ear close-GER explode-PRS/3SG
12. *Vań maď-em-ze vera-lo-d šat?*
all tell-PART-3SG/ACC say-FUT-3SG really
13. *Kɟl vɟl-a-z šuźi-jez no, umoj-ez no val.*
tongue on-IN-3SG stupid-DEF good-DEF EX

Translation

1. Go, go, I don't hold you back.
2. Their workers are probably superfluous without you too. They are already dismissing them in hundreds, thousands.
3. Yesterday I visited our neighbours.
4. The head of their household has sat down on the divan and is lying there with his legs on the back of the divan.
5. What has happened, I asked?
6. Is your rest-day today?
7. They say, he has been lying on this divan the whole month already and they don't know, when they (will) start to work in his department.
8. Who does he not blame!
9. Starting with the engineers, then he comes to Moscow, goes to the Kremlin, not to mention the deputies.
10. They work without connecting one thing with the other, they say.
11. They blow and blow in the bag until it explodes and the ears get closed.
12. Will you really tell all he said?
13. On his tongue was the stupid as well as the good.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ADV	adverb
ADVL	adverbial (case)
ACC	accusative
ACT	active
APPR	approximative
AUX	auxiliary verb
CAR	caritive
CAUS	causative (derivation)
COLL	collective (derivation)
COMP	comparative
COP	copula
CX	case (suffix)
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DER	derivation
EGR	egressive
EL	elative
EX	existential verb
FIKT	*Fiktivnost*
FRAC	fraction
FREQ	frequentative (derivation)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
IC	interrogative clitic
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
IN	inessive
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
NEX	negative existential verb
NF	negative form (of the main verb)
NOM	nominative
NOMIN	nominalizer
NV	negative verb
ORD	ordinal (derivation)
PART	participle
PASS	passive (voice)
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
PN	personal name
POSTP	postposition
PRS	present
PRET	preterite
PX	possessive (suffix)
REFL	reflexive (derivation)
REL	relative pronoun
SG	singular
TER	terminative
TR	transitive (case)

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Appendix: Transliteration of the Cyrillic alphabet

Vowels:

	Front	Back	
	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	i/*ӥ ~и*	ị/*ы ~ьы*	u/*у ~ю*
Mid	e/*э ~е*	ę/*ӧ ~ьӧ*	o/*о ~ё*
Low		a/*а ~я*	

The first letter of a pair stands after a non-palatal, the second after a palatal consonant.

Consonants:

		Labials		Dentals		Palatals	Velars
		bilabial	labiodental	dental	postalveolar		
Stops	voiceless	*p/п*		*t/т*		*t'/ть*	*k/к*
	voiced	*b/б*		*d/д*		*d'/дь*	*g/г*
Affricates	voiceless				*č/ӵ*	*č́/ч*	
	voiced				*ǯ/ӝ*	*ǯ́/ӟ*	
Fricatives	voiceless			*s/с*	*š/ш*	*ś/сь*	
	voiced		*v/в*	*z/з*	*ž/ж*	*ź/зь*	
Nasals		*m/м*		*n/н*		*ń/нь*	
Laterals				*l/л*		*l'/ль*	
Trills				*r/р*			
Glides						*j/й*	

With the exception of the affricates there are no separate letters for the palatals. They are written with the letters for the dentals + ь or with the corresponding vowel grapheme (*я, е, и, ё, ю*). Palatal geminates are marked only with one ь (*кылльыны*, not **кыльльыны* 'lie').

The vowel letters *я, е, ё, ю* mark the glide *j* + corresponding vowel after a vowel, ь or ъ (*вияны = vijanị, музъем = muzjem, басьяны = bašjanị*). Accordingly the letter *й* is used before *i, ị* and *ę* (*пусйыны = pusjịnị*).